

SACRED LANDSCAPES IN ASIA

Shared Traditions, Multiple Histories

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Marks and Symbols of Professionals on Mughal Monuments

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A large number of Persian documents as well as the medieval structures down to the nineteenth century reveal a number of curious marks and symbols carved or drawn along with names of certain individuals. It appears that there was the practice of individuals drawing a sign or mark along with their signatures. These symbols in the documents usually appear to accompany the signatures of the various witnesses who are testifying the deed, which is being put up in a court of law, be it a *hiba nama* (gift deed), *bai'nama* (sale deed) or a *rahn nama* (mortgage deed). A larger number of marks and symbols, sometimes accompanied by names of individuals, are found inscribed on almost all the stones of the medieval monuments, be it the Qutb complex or the Taj. Similar symbols are found on most of the surviving coins of the medieval period. A clue as to what these marks and symbols were is provided by a stray remark of Manucci, when he is writing an account of Emperor Jahangir:

It happened one day that he (the Emperor) was on the banks of the river (at Lahore) and saw a pot carried down the stream. He ordered that this pot should be produced before him. It was found to contain a dead body cut into pieces. Orders were given to the officers of justice to discover the culprit, with a warning that if they did not find him, all of their heads would be cut off. Among the other expedients they resorted to, one was to order every potter to deliver one pot, and by examining the marks on these, they hoped to trace the vendor of the pot in question. *It is customary in the Mogul country for every potter to put his own special mark on his pots.* It was thus that they caught the culprit.¹

From these remarks of Manucci it becomes manifest that (a) every potter had a mark put on the pot, which he created; (b) each potter had a mark which was individual to him; and (c) if you saw the mark you could identify through it, its owner. This would thus mean that the mark put on the pots was the professional mark of the master-craftsman. The surviving evidence before us in the form of legal documents and individual stone slabs of the various structures tell us that that the tradition of professional marks was not confined only to the potters: it was far more prevalent than what historians have so far thought.

Let us first take the evidence of the symbols found on the legal documents. For this case study I have taken into account three sets of original legal documents. The first two are a set of documents preserved in the National Archives, Delhi, dealing with the sale, purchase and mortgage of houses at Cambay.² Second is a set, the Bhandari documents of Batala, which have been reproduced by J.S. Grewal.³

The Cambay Documents mostly consist of sale, mortgage and gift deeds of the properties of the Hindu *baniyā* merchants of Gujarat. As mentioned above, they contain the signature of a large number of witnesses (*gavāh*), some of whom are women as well as Muslims. Almost all of the witnesses and signatories belonged either to a group of petty merchants (*baniyā*, *baqqāl*) or were professionals like weavers (*bunkar*) and goldsmiths (*zargar*). A few of them were also *zunnārdārs*, i.e. brahmins. It is interesting to note that the symbols and marks (*alāmat-i dastakhat*) put besides the name of *zunnārdārs*, *baniyās* and *baqqāls* are invariably in the form of a *svastika*, a symbol with religious affiliations. But it is interesting to note that each *svastika* mark is different from the other.⁴ No two *svastikas* in these documents are similar. These *svastikas* are both in Indo-Aryan and German style. It is quite obvious from the way they have been drawn that a conscious attempt was being made to customize them for their exclusive use. Similarly against the names of the persons professing the weaver's craft the symbols are in the form of their instruments of trade as well as wavy lines connoting, perhaps, the cotton yarn.⁵ The few goldsmiths who occur in these documents, supplement their names with either flower-bud marks⁶ or, in one case, the slim goldsmith's hammer.⁷

In the *Batala Documents* without fault, a floral mark is applied along with the name of a *zargar* or *jauhari* (goldsmith and jewellers). Just as in the case of the *svastika* marks of the Cambay merchants, each flower is individualistic in appearance.⁸ A hook-like or 'S'-shaped design appears along with the names of *telis* (*kunjadgar*) or oil-pressers.⁹ The printer (*chhapagar*) has a distinct mark betraying his profession.¹⁰ In another document a *khemadoz* (tent maker) is represented by a pair of open scissors drawn near his signature.¹¹ The same document represents two *me'mars* with two different floral symbols while one *me'mar* has the same mark as mark number FS 1 discussed below. The same mark, but a little larger in size, is represented for a dyer.¹² All this would mean that each profession and within it, each professional would have his own mark through which he could be distinguished.

As in the case of the documents, marks and symbols make their appearance on the buildings as well. Here they represented the master-mason or master stone-cutter.

Among the Romans it was a common practice to stamp bricks with their marks and dates, through which students of architecture can pin-point the period in which a particular structure was built. In ancient Sri Lanka the building structures had certain marks on their walls and ceilings, which have been ascribed to masons.¹³ In Medieval India the inscriptions, which have so far been commonly noticed mention architects, or calligraphers, but seldom the mason or brick-layers. Thus in the case of the Taj Mahal, the only name which comes to us from epigraphy is that of Amanat Khan who has left behind his signature on one of the panels. The Persian sources are also silent as far as the personnel employed for building under the Mughals are concerned.¹⁴ They only mention the chief architects and engineers like Ustad Qasim Khan, the architect of the Agra Fort¹⁵ and Ustad Ahmad and Hamid of the Delhi Fort.¹⁶ As far as the palaces and structures at Fatehpur Sikri are concerned, the sources are silent about their actual builders. We are only informed that craftsmen from areas like Gujarat and Rajasthan were employed in the enterprise. While dealing with the expertise of stone-cutters in India, Shaikh Zain Khawafi informs us that under Babur at Fatehpur Sikri, Bayana, Dholpur, Gwalior and Kol (modern Aligarh), 'as many as 1491 stone-cutters worked daily'.¹⁷ Abu'l Fazl tells us that three to four thousand masons and

other craftsmen were employed in the construction of Agra Fort, while Arif Qandhari repairing the fort says that two thousand stone-cutters and two thousand skilled masons were employed, while eight thousand labourers assisted them.¹⁸ Though the Persian sources are silent as far as the workforce employed in the Taj, Sikandara, I'timad ud Daulah are concerned, William Finch gives the figure of three thousand for Sikandara.¹⁹ Irfan Habib, based on information available in the Persian sources, reaches a figure of 5,000 to 8,000 building craftsmen employed in the construction at Fatehpur Sikri.²⁰ But who these stone-cutters and masons were, and how they worked still remains obscure. Practically no documentary evidence for them appears to have survived. The only evidence for these sections of society may, then, be the innumerable marks and signatures which they have left behind on their grand creations.²¹

I therefore undertook a survey of some Mughal Monuments at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri, like the Aram Bagh (Bagh-i Nur Afshan), now popularly known as Ram Bagh at Agra; the Fatehpur Sikri, Sikandara, I'timad ud Daulah and the Agra Fort.²² I also examined the Qutub Complex and Humayun's Tomb in Delhi in order to trace comparable stone-cutters' marks with those at Agra and Fatehpur Sikri.

For better comprehension each mark found in a particular building has been numbered and prefixed with the first letter of the name of the building (see Tables VI.1 to VI.15). Thus Mark 1 in Table VI.1 for Fatehpur Sikri is numbered FS 1. Similar tabulation has been done with the signatures, where the letter 'S' has been inserted in the numbers of the signatures to distinguish them from the Marks. Thus the first signature given in the Signature Chart for Fatehpur Sikri is represented as FS(s) 1.

These marks and signatures in the majority of case are carved on the pillars, their brackets and floor slabs, though they are also sometimes to be found on the ceilings (similar to those in the ground floor of Abdarkhana at Fatehpur Sikri and Musamman [Saman] Burj in Agra Fort) and walls (again mostly in Fatehpur Sikri and the Taj Mahal). On the pillars, apart from the brackets, the usual place for their appearance seems to be the base and the portion of the shaft near the bracket, though these might also be found in the middle. Interestingly enough, no attempt has been made to deliberately hide them. In fact, their presence at Fatehpur Sikri on the Diwan-i Am pillars and in the niches of the Emperor's seat is quite prominent (Table VI.1-VI.5). Though they are generally small, at some places like the verandah of the Hujra-i Anuptalao 'Turkish Sultana's House' and the cloisters west of it, they are large enough to be discerned even by the unsuspecting eye. On the other hand, in a few places like Chaharsuffa (the Panch Mahal), the so-called 'kitchen' near the Shabistan-i Iqbal the main *haramsara* popularly known as the 'Jodhbai Palace' in Fatehpur Sikri and the octagonal tower and the Gate leading to the courtyard between the Nagina Masjid and the Diwan-i Khas at Agra Fort, the marks appear to have been hidden below heavy plaster or paintings (e.g. in the so-called 'Kitchen' mentioned above) while some of the signatures in the Khas Mahal, Agra Fort, have been tucked away in a corner (Table VI.10). Now if one compares the marks still present on some of the walls and platform-stones of the Quwwatul Islam Mosque and the arched openings of Alauddin's Madrasa in the Qutub Complex, from the point of view of their appearance and quality, it would be instantly seen that those at the Mughal monuments are more refined and those at the Qutub, cruder.

As far as the signatures are concerned, the script, in almost all cases – apart from a few in the Taj and the Agra Fort – Devanagari. It is only in the Taj Mahal and the Khas Mahal of the Agra Fort that Persian characters have been employed.

We have first to answer the question as to (a) who affixed these marks and signatures and (b) at what stage of construction were these fixed?

Would it be proper to call these marks in the Mughal monuments as ‘masons’ marks’ as R. Nath does,²³ and the signatures to be ‘mason’s signatures’? To me, though, it would look more proper to designate them as ‘stone-cutter’s marks’, for nowhere else, apart from stone buildings and structures, does one find them. They are not seen on bricks or plaster covering the stone-rubble. They can be ‘mason’s marks’ only if we understand the term in the sense of a stone-mason or stone-cutter involved in the work of joining the stone pieces together and not if it connotes the sense of an ordinary *me’mar* working with lime-mortar and bricks.

Now if we take a look once again at the marks cited above as represented in the documents, we may see that the scissor represents the job of cutting and stitching of cloth; a hook is used even today by the oil-pressers in their profession while the circle may connote a dyer’s vat. The flowers are natural for a profession related to gold and jewellery. But a floral pattern may as well be used by a stone-cutter to represent his expertise in carving stone panels and screens on that pattern. Thus in other words, is this a mark of the sub-profession of a *mambatkar* or *parchinkar*? A look at the Chart of Marks for the Taj reveals that marks based on floral design abound. Two of them are also made in relief (T 173 and T 176). They may represent the mark of an embosser. Can we then, by the same logic define the mark represented by a simple circle (like FS 1) as the mark of a professional involved in joining the pieces with lime (the mark then representing a lime-kiln), and the geometrical design to be that of the *muhandis* or architect?

Before proceeding further, let us first look at the type of marks, which are found in the monuments under survey. Broadly speaking, these marks can be classified as Zodiacal, Geometrical, Cross-shaped, Linear, Animate, Floral and Weapons. If we analyse the marks by these heads, then FS 7 and T 134 are similar to the sign of Aries; FS 21 and T 66 resemble that of Leo; T 46 is the sign of Pisces whereas AF 16 and AF 17 are of Aquarius. Similarly FS 6, AF 30, AF 33, S 28, S 41, and T 133 are the signs of Mercury. AD 20 and ID 13 are quite similar to the sign for the sun.

The geometrical marks include all those, which are based on circular, triangular, curved, square or rectangular patterns. Thus FS 1 to FS 5, FS 8 to FS 10, FS 15, FS 43, AB 23, AF 19, AF 21, ID 14 to ID 17, S 18 to S 21 and T 109 to T 132 are all based on a circle. FS 11 to FS 14, FS 16 to FS 25, FS 52 to FS 55, FS 136, AB 5 to AB 15, AF 15, AF 23 to AF 29, AF 82, AF 83, ID 33, S 1 to S 7, S 12, S 13, S 17, S 35, S 42, to S 45 and T 49 to T 77 are curve-based. Among the angular signs are FS 39, FS 40, AF 13, ID 77 to ID 79, T 1 to T 13, T 30 to T 32 and T 49. Then FS 35 to FS 38, AB 5, AB 6, AB 19 to AB 22, AF 14, ID 10 to ID 12, S 22 to S 24 and T 78 to T 87 are based on a triangle. Similarly FS 27 to FS 31, AB 18, AB 43, ID 8, ID 9, ID 49, T 91, T 92 and T 97 are square or rectangular. Four marks in the Taj (T 93 to T 96) are hexagonal, whereas FS 44 to FS 46, AF 37, ID 40, S 48, T 143 and T 144 show miscellaneous geometrical patterns.

Among the Cross-shaped marks we have a number of variations. Thus we have a simple

cross, a cross encircled by a square, *svastikas* of Indo-Aryan and German styles, guarded cross and barred-cross. FS 47 to FS 51, AB 27 to AB 30, AF 8 to AF 12, ID 34 to ID 38, ID 74, S 14 to S 16, S 25 to S 29 and T 99 to T 107 are of this category.

FS 60 to FS 73, AB 26, AB 33, AF 22, S 34 and T 27 to T 37 are linear marks. The animate marks are represented only in a large variety of fish motifs, though in I'timad ud Daulah can be seen ID 39, ID 44 and ID 48 which represent human (or demi-god?) figures. The largest number of fish marks are found at Fatehpur Sikri (55) followed by I'timad ud Daulah, Sikandara and Taj. A perusal of the fish marks becomes interesting if one observes how one mark has been distinguished from another by distinct strokes marking the fins or the shape of the tails, head, the placing of the eye dots or their omission, and so on.

The Charts would also show the numerous weapons being depicted. They generally include the bow and arrow, spears, swords, tridents, elephant goads and axes.

As observed earlier, floral marks abound in the Taj, though they can be seen in other monuments as well.

Now if we carry on the argument initiated above, I would suggest that all these different categories represented one general line of profession or sub-specialization. But if the geometrical marks indicate the profession of a *muhandis*, what would the zodiacal and planetary signs point to? Did they also belong to a specialized class of architects? We know that the Persian sources employ expressions like *astarlab shinas*, *aqlidas nazar*, *hindisa pardaz*, *jadu asar*, etc., when they mention some architects.²⁴ Lutfullah Muhandis, the architect-son of Ustad Ahmad, the architect of Delhi Fort and presumably of the Taj, being an expert in his profession also prepared a text on Almanacs entitled *Taqwim-i Lutfi*.²⁵ His son Khairullah Muhandis, apart from supervising constructions of various observatories, also wrote quite a few treatises on astronomy.²⁶ He was also appointed the director of the Delhi observatory in 1718.²⁷ Apart from these, there are a sizeable number of works on architecture which also deal with the science of astronomy and mathematics.²⁸ In a Sanskrit text of the eleventh century AD, *Samarangana-Sutradhara*, the knowledge of all *śāstras* and traditional sciences (which include astronomy) is recommended for an architect to know.²⁹ All this would strengthen the view that the zodiacal signs like the geometrical ones were employed by some of the categories of master-craftsmen who were involved in the architectural aspects of the construction.

With regard to the weapon-marks, R. Nath tends to believe that they were the marks of true 'stone-cutters', but he does not provide us with reasons for this.³⁰ However, one would tend to ask: which category of *sangtarash* does he have in mind? If the floral pattern belonged to those stone-cutters specializing in engraving, inlaying and embossing, in other words, the *parchinkar* and *mambatkar*, then probably the weapon-marks like the tridents, bows, arrows and axes were the signs either of the *naqqash* (the tracer or the carver) or the *sadahkar* or the plain stone-cutter, but more probably the former. The axe might well have been the mark of the chiseller of the stone pieces.

As far as the fish mark is concerned, the association with fish with any constructional craft is not easy to establish. In Fatehpur Sikri these marks are found mostly on the well-polished pillar brackets; and at Sikandara, on the platform (plinth) on which the mausoleum is raised. Should then one conclude that these fish marks belonged to the expert polishers of the stone surfaces? The fish may well have conveyed their technique in using water while polishing the stone, though this is pure speculation.

There is a further problem to resolve. At a number of places in each building a single stone slab has more than one mark, or a single pillar has on its surface various marks (see Tables VI.12 and VI.13). Would it then mean that in case of more than one sign, one sign may be that of the supervisor who is depicted in the Mughal miniatures standing over each set of artisans? Was it he who put one of his marks as a proof of his approval and checking? It would be most interesting to note that in the majority of such cases—two or more marks on the same slab—at least one is a geometrical one. Would it then be possible to say that the mace-bearing supervisory personnel depicted in the paintings was in fact a subordinate architect who also left behind some of these marks?

Apart from these marks, are found a large number of signatures on the stone slabs, as we have already mentioned. Can we assume that the mark and the signature belong to the same individual as in the documents? Do they connote the proper name of the craftsman or that of the 'brotherhood'? In other words, was *Hamu* [geq] [FS(s) 117] or *Meen* [ehu] [FS(s) 99] of Fatehpur Sikri, the name of an individual or was it a group name? More probably it was the name of a craftsman, for as we shall see subsequently, the mark of the profession carries on from one structure to the other, but the signatures seldom appear to do so (see Table VI.15). As to the profession of the signatories, at least two things are sure. First, the signatory was not in most cases the affixer of the accompanying mark on that slab, and, second, he was not himself cutting his own name on the slab. If one looks at the Table VI.12 it will be clear that the mark and 'signature' usually keeps on changing company. For example, if T(s) 30 (*Madh*) is coupled with T 66 (the sign of Leo), then at another place it is paired with T 88 (a triangular mark), similarly if the signature '*Kharagu*' [FS(s) 18] is with FS 36 (triple triangular mark), then we find the same mark with yet another signature [T(s) 105]. As for the second contention that it was not cut or carved by the person named on the slab, we have to look at the signature charts for each monument. Signatures like FS(s) 26, FS(s) 55, FS(s) 87, FS(s) 100, FS(s) 118, T(s) 41, S(s) 13, S(s) 36, etc., which in fact have been drawn in the reverse; that is, they would be readable from their mirror image. Thus FS(s) 118 is in fact '*Hamu*' [FS(s) 117]; S(s) 36 is actually '*Pema*' (S(s) 35). This in turn suggests that the name (or for that matter, the mark) was drawn from some stencilled material and then handed over to the *naqqash* (the tracer or carver), who being illiterate, sometimes handled it wrongly. Then again, for example, if we have a look at FS(s) 4 (*Kesomal*) and FS(s) 5 (*Kesomalu*) or FS(s) 116 (*Ham*) and FS(s) 117 (*Hamu*), we will realize that the tracer sometimes fails to correctly carve the name. Thus '*Kesomal*' turns into '*Kesomalu*' and '*Hamu*' is reduced to '*Ham*'. In I'timad ud Daulah, '*Kasi*' is reduced to '*Kasa*' [ID (s) 1 & 2]; at Sikandra, '*Khargu*' is reduced to '*Kharag*' [S (s) 9 and S (s) 10]. These charts reveal many such omissions or corruptions. Then again we find that sometimes the name is cut by interchanging letters. An example of this type can be seen in FS(s) 33 and FS(s) 34 where '*sh*' has been replaced with '*s*'; or ID(s) 14 and ID(s) 15 where '*dha*' has been replaced with '*d*'. Thirdly, sometimes different variants in script for the same letter in the same name in the same monument are found. An example of this could be cited, for example, from FS(s) 17 and FS(s) 18 where the letter '*ra*' [j] is written in two different ways; or ID(s) 11 to ID(s) 13 where even the letter '*i*' [b] keeps on changing. These examples point out that the persons carving the names or signatures could not be the maker of the piece. From all appearances it would thus mean

that the signature belongs to the *master-craftsman* and has nothing to do with the petty tracer. Probably it belonged to the man put in-charge of each group of craftsmen.

Sometimes more than one signature appears on some slabs. Possibly, one was of the master-craftsman-in-charge of one category of the work, and the second of the assayer of the work while the third, if present, was that of the supervisor. Alternatively they might have been co-workers in the same profession engaged in work on the same part of the building.

We find that sometimes the same mark is carried on to another monument of another period.

The Aram Bagh was laid out by Babur in 1526 which was then subsequently renovated sometime under Jahangir, on the orders of Nurjahan Begum. Humayun's Tomb was subsequently constructed between 1565 and 1569. Approximately in the same period (1565) work on Agra Fort started and by 1568 its Dehli Darwaza (Delhi Gate) was completed. One year later, the Jahangiri Mahal of this fort was ready. The Musamman Burj (the Saman Burj) was built between 1628 and 1630 and five years later, Diwan-i Khas complex of the same fort was constructed. Another five years passed (i.e. in 1640) before the Khas Mahal and Diwan-i Am were given shape. On the other hand, work started on Akbar's Tomb in 1605 and was over by 1612. The construction of the tomb of I'timad ud Daulah was done between 1622 and 1628.

As far as Fatehpur Sikri is concerned, the foundations of the imperial buildings and the mosque were laid in 1568-9 and the work in the latter was over in 1571-2. The complex near Anup Talao tank was ready by 1575-6. As far as the date for the construction of Diwan-i Am is concerned, we have no definite knowledge, though it is generally held that it came sometime after the completion of the Khwabgah.

In other words, Humayun's Tomb, the Jahangiri Mahal, and the Dehli Darwaza of the Agra Fort all date back to Akbar's reign. The Aram Bagh pavilions, the Sikandara and I'timad ud Daulah belong to Jahangir's reign while the other complexes of Agra Fort date from Shahjahan's reign.

With this chronology in mind, it would be interesting to study Tables VI.14 and VI.15. Out of the total 191 marks in Fatehpur Sikri, 36 are also found at the Taj, 19 at I'timad ud Daulah, 17 in Sikandara, 15 each in Agra Fort and Aram Bagh, 8 in the Qutub Complex and 5 at Humayun's Tomb. Of a total of 211 marks in the Taj, 56 are repeated on other monuments: 22 in Sikandara, 19 in Agra Fort, 16 in I'timad ud Daulah, 12 in Aram Bagh, 7 in the Qutub Complex and 5 in Humayun's Tomb. Similarly at Sikandara, out of 74 marks, 29 are repeated elsewhere, 12 being in I'timad ud Daulah, 10 in Agra Fort, 9 in Aram Bagh, 5 in Qutub Complex and 2 in Humayun's Tomb. We also see that in Agra Fort and Aram Bagh, out of 38 and 43, around half of them, viz., 24 and 20 respectively are repeated elsewhere. As far as signatures are concerned, only 10 similarities in more than one monument are found.

This would suggest that the marks in these buildings in fact represent the hereditary groups of the craftsmen engaged in the same profession, rather than personal marks. They might as well be termed 'guild marks' of a profession, which carried on year after year, reign after reign. When we find references for the building of such complexes as Fatehpur Sikri and the Taj, craftsmen and artisans came all the way from places like Gujarat and

Rajasthan, we may assume that they came under the leadership of their master-craftsmen to whom they were tied either by family loyalty or by professional links. Thus the various characters in signatures vary, while the marks, representing caste or professional groups, recur.

The question at this juncture then would be, that at what stage were these marks and signatures cut on the slabs? One hypothesis in this regard could be that as the stones needed for the monuments were cut at the quarry itself into pieces of sizes which could be easily carted to the site of construction, these marks were inscribed at the quarry itself. This hypothesis, if correct, would render our discussion above regarding the crafts they represent as irrelevant. For then, these marks would be those of the quarry workers. But the evidence in paintings shows that the stone blocks were actually dressed at the site, for they show cutting, chiselling and shaping of the stones for the required size being carried out at the building site itself. Second, scrutiny of the slabs makes it clear that these marks and signatures were put after the stone slabs had been polished. It is important to note that on no unpolished stones have these signatures or marks been found in any of the monuments. This in effect would mean that the mark was put on the site itself and not the quarry. But then, was it put after the stone slab had been placed in its proper position in the building, or at the time it was polished and ready to be so placed? From some of the slabs at Aram Bagh it appears that the mark, (e.g. AB 19) was carved only after the slabs had been fixed at their places, as the marks are cut in such a manner that they sometimes overlap two slabs. In the courtyard of the Jami' Masjid, at Fatehpur Sikri, some of the slabs have certain marks (e.g. FS 32) which are drawn on two adjoining slabs in such a fashion that a linear symmetry is maintained. Third, at 'Samosa Mahal' (Fatehpur Sikri), one column giving support to an arched opening is constructed with the help of square stone slabs, as against the usual slabs or rubble-stone used throughout this structure. The middle of this block has a sign carved on it. It is drawn at exactly the same level as other signs drawn on the other pillars. This in turn would suggest the putting of the mark only after the slabs and blocks were fixed.

We have, however, contrary evidence as well. If one looks at the marks and signatures, especially on brackets and pillars, where it would be easier to comprehend, they appear to rotate around their axis, suggesting thereby that the mark or signature was put soon after polishing and before the final fixing. For why else should the name or mark be carved upside down? Further, we have evidence of marks being drawn, and then being defaced with the cutting of the stone when it was being fixed, reinforcing the view that the mark was drawn before the actual placement of the stone. Thus at I'timad ud Daulah, ID 28, and at another place, a fish, partially disappear as the slab was cut while giving it an angle. If one looks at the position of marks on the pavement slabs, especially at Sikandara, Taj and the Aram Bagh, it appears that though a mark is sometimes repeated consecutively on a series of slabs, their placement is haphazard, suggesting that the mason fixing them did not care which stone was placed where. This would again suggest our second contention of the marks being drawn before actual placement.

Yet another interesting feature which is seen in relation to these marks is that on some slabs, a mark was drawn, but later it was defaced and a new one replaced it. Thus at Sikandara, on a slab S 17 was drawn, but then partially erased and S 22 drawn afresh near

it. In the 'Chaharsuffa' (the so-called 'Panch Mahal') at Fatehpur Sikri, a fish mark was half drawn on a slab; later the carver appears to have changed his mind and scratched it off to replace it with FS 147 and FS 149 on the slab. In the *daftarkhana*, FS 45 was half drawn but not completed. A complete FS 109 is drawn on the same slab. Likewise in the portico situated east of the Diwan-i Khas, Fatehpur Sikri, a fish was first half drawn and then scratched out. On the same slab, besides this half drawn mark, are placed FS 45 and FS 170.

Now that we have commented on what these marks were and when they were drawn, let us come to the question of why they were drawn at all.

While discussing the mason's marks found in structures of ancient Sri Lanka, Parker suspects a superstitious and religious motive behind them. It was for auspiciousness and charm that these marks were put. He goes into a discussion of the Vedanta literature to find religious meaning of the marks and attributes them as the symbols of Vishnu or Soma or Rudra. The 'cross marks', he claims, were actually magical diagrams having 'mystical signification . . . based on their protective functions'.³¹ He also interprets the upright cross enclosed in a square (like T 97) by making a symbolic study of that sign since Chaldean and Assyrian times. He again reaches the conclusion that they had 'protective values'.³² Similarly Crooke, while dealing with the fish symbol, points to it being an incarnation of Vishnu and, in the Islamic tradition, the vehicle of Khwaja Khizr. Commenting on its being drawn on walls of houses, he found this mark 'as a charm against demoniacal influence'.³³ Nath too follows the same line of perception, while dealing with these marks in his articles.³⁴

Commenting on the linear marks like FS 61-8, Nath opines that they might denote 'slope and water-level' and thus their actual location was the 'key to their meaning'.³⁵ In view of the above discussion, at least this much is evident that whatever they were, they were not 'slope and water-level', for, from their very location this would be ridiculous. We have seen that no exact direction for the marks is found, as they keep rotating on their axis. Besides, what would a 'slope mark' do on a pillar or a ceiling? Similarly marks like FS 110 do not appear to be plumb lines, but seem to represent tridents and thus weapon signs.

Whether or not these signs were auspicious, or vehicles of the Hindu pantheon or a Semitic prophet, there is no denying the fact that the marks used symbols based on a particular culture. We have established at least that their 'locus' does not appear to be the 'key to their meaning'. This would be more true for the various numerals in Devanagari which have been placed on piers of Tehra Muhri, on the eaves of the so-called Panch Mahal, or on the pillar base and brackets of the pavillion near Khas Mahal in the Agra Fort; or the numbering done on the door sills of the canopy of the Musamman Burj of the same fort. These numbers do point towards the purpose of placement of each pillar in consonance with each other, as well as the brackets. But the marks and signatures we are discussing could never have had such a purpose.

One plausible explanation regarding the purpose of these marks might have been for verifying the work done by a group of craftsmen in order to assess their wages by the job. But then how were the *mambatkar* and *parchinkar* paid then, as nowhere on the panels or screens worked by them do we get their marks. The only place we possibly find marks, as

has been already mentioned, are on pavements, bare pillars and platforms. What was the mode of verification of their work then? Or for that matter, how does one explain the presence of the same mark or signature two or three times on the same slab? If it was to count the quantum of work accomplished, what was the need of this duplication or triplication of the same symbol on the same slab? A look at Table VI.13 would further complicate the situation. What then was the purpose of more than one signature and the various marks on a single pillar?

Our tentative suggestion, that we have already ventured to set out, is that:

- (a) The marks, like the symbols and marks in legal documents, were of particular professional groups and thus analogous to 'guild-marks';
- (b) The signatures were those of higher, supervisory staff, though, like architects, they had marks as well;
- (c) The marks were put out of tradition or vanity and had little to do with work verification.

Perhaps, as more of these symbols and signatures are scrutinized and subjected to close analysis, we will be able to move to a definitive resolution of the problem.

TABLE VI.1: MARKS AT FATEHPUR SIKRI (FS) STRUCTURE-WISE BREAK-UP

I. Diwan-i Am Cloisters:	1, 14, 20, 28, 30, 33, 34, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 52, 53, 54, 56, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 85, 86, 87, 88, 91, 92, 93, 99, 105, 109, 110, 111, 115, 137, 138, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 186, 190, 191.
II. Diwan-i Am, 'Emperor's Seat', its chamber and Verandah:	
(a) The Chamber niches:	20, 21, 23, 42, 54, 120, 139.
(b) The Door leading into the balcony:	128.
(c) Ventilator of this door:	120
(d) Door leading to Courtyard of Daulatkhana:	21
(e) The Verandah:	
(i) Niche on the left:	121
(ii) Walls:	56
(iii) Pillars:	45, 56, 89.
III. Floor slabs of the Courtyard of the Daulatkhana before the 'Diwan-i Khas' [Lotus Pillar Chamber/Chaharkhana]:	1, 20, 59, 80, 96, 121, 143, 165, 169.
IV. Floor slabs of the Daulatkhana-i Anuptalao:	36, 38, 42, 50, 105, 111.
V. Cloisters around the Daulatkhana Courtyard:	
(a) Cloisters just below the Chaharsuffa [Panch Mahal]:	33, 45, 147, 149.
(b) Cloisters aligned east-west to the south of Chaharsuffa:	143, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184.
(c) Cloisters below the Khwabgah:	112, 161, 171, 172, 186.
(d) Cloisters to the west of the Khwabgah:	150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160.
(e) Cloistered gallery connecting Hujra-i Anuptalao [Turkish Sultana's house] to the Khwabgah:	78, 95.
(f) Cloisters connected with Hujra-i Anuptalao towards the West:	42, 100.
(g) Cloistered gallery to the north of Chaharkhana:	33, 46, 52, 115.
(h) Cloisters adjoining the 'Treasury'/'Ankhamichauli':	21, 45, 46.
VI. Verandah of Hujra-i Anuptalao (N):	43.
VII. Chaharkhana [Lotus-Pillar Hall]:	
(a) Western door:	117.
(b) Southern door:	131.
VIII. Portico to the east of Chaharkhana:	
(a) Ceilings:	28.
(b) Pillars:	6, 21, 45, 139.

(contd.)

TABLE VI.1 (contd.)

IX. Platform between 'Astrologer's Seat' and Chaharkhana:	1, 20, 33, 45, 77, 121.
X. Floor of 'Astrologer's Seat':	21, 47.
XI. Abdarkhana:	
(a) Ground Floor:	
(i) Pillars:	21, 42, 45, 84, 95, 109.
(ii) Pillar brackets:	2, 15, 42, 45, 46, 52, 56, 109, 136.
(iii) Ceilings:	2, 15, 30, 42, 45, 56, 79, 80, 94, 121, 136.
(b) Top Floor:	
(i) Pillars:	3, 33, 42, 109, 129, 130.
(ii) Pillar brackets:	42, 72, 109.
(iii) Doorways:	41, 42, 44, 136.
(iv) Niches:	33, 44, 46, 121.
(v) Ceiling:	4, 15, 42, 43, 46, 56, 77.
XII. Khwabgah:	
(a) Exterior:	1, 27, 28, 33, 37, 45, 56, 69, 109.
(b) Interior:	56, 60, 71, 80, 107, 109.
(c) Pillars of Verandah (E):	36, 109
XIII. Chaharsuffa [Panch Mahal]:	
(a) Ground Floor:	1, 20, 50, 56, 91, 111.
(b) First Floor:	102.
(c) Second Floor:	1, 10, 35.
(d) Third Floor:	1.
(e) Top Floor:	1, 45.
XIV. Cloisters adjoining to the South of Chaharsuffa:	19, 56, 73, 76, 110, 111, 169, 173, 174.
XV. Cloisters near the Gateway to the North of the so-called 'Mariam's Palace':	80, 110, 185.
XVI. <i>Shabistan-i Iqbal</i> ['Jodhbai Palace']:	
(a) Courtyard:	41, 109.
(b) Central Hall on the West:	22, 57.
(c) Rooms to the South of the Main Gate:	109
(d) Central Hall on the South:	74, 75
(e) Eastern Room on the South:	23
(f) Floor slabs on the Platform in front of the Gate:	46
(g) Gallery to the South of the Gate:	<i>illegible dates</i>
(h) Cloisters to the North of the Gate:	4, 34, 113, 139.
XVII. Pavement towards the Booking Office near the Shabistan-i Iqbal:	28, 80, 151.
XVIII. So-called 'Kitchen' in front of the Shabistan-i Iqbal:	
(a) Eaves:	28, 56.
(b) Interior (walls & pillars):	4, 56, 91, 109, 118, 144, 187.
XIX. 'Ladies Karkhana' (niches):	42, 110.

(contd.)

TABLE VI.1 (contd.)

XX.	Palace to the North of this:	76
XXI.	Daftarkhana:	
	(a) Main Building Pillars:	21, 23, 24, 25, 35, 51 76, 166
	(b) Cloisters to its West:	1, 2, 28, 33, 41, 45, 56, 66, 67, 76, 90, 109, 143, 145.
	(c) Double Pillared Gallery in the North:	1, 20, 111
	(d) Cloisters to the West of (c):	167, 168
XXII.	Jami' Masjid:	
	(a) Courtyard near <i>Badshahi</i> Gate:	7, 21, 29, 41, 49, 50, 108.
	(b) Middle Portion of the Courtyard:	41, 48, 49 51, 52, 56, 70, 84, 120, 122, 123, 143, 161, 162.
	(c) Courtyard Portion to the South of the Water Tank:	9, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 26, 32, 41, 98, 99, 103, 104, 163.
	(d) Courtyard towards the Sanctuary of the Mosque:	6, 8, 55
	(e) Gallery Fronting the Cubicles, to the West of the Buland Darwaza:	33, 45, 124, 125, 126
	(f) Sanctuary of the Mosque:	
	(i) South:	5, 13, 119, 132, 164
	(ii) North:	21, 58, 101, 105, 106, 134.
XXIII.	Samosa Mahal:	21, 23, 28, 30, 139, 188, 189
XXIV.	Structure atop the <i>sarai</i> near the Hathipol:	42, 76, 127
XXV.	Hathipol:	108, 110, 135, 143
XXVI.	Gallery to the south-east of the Hathipol:	1, 51
XXVII.	Gallery near the Hauz-i Shireen:	50, 51, 89, 97, 114, 133
XXV.	Agra Gate:	42
XXIX.	Tehra Muhri:	21, 45

TABLE VI.2

FS 42:	Diwan-i Am; Emperor's Seat; Courtyard of the Daulatkhana-i Anuptalao; Cloisters to the east of Hujra-i Anuptalao; Abdarkhana; Chaharsuffa; Yatishkhana of the <i>darogha-i sarai</i> (Structure atop the Hathipol Sarai); Agra Gate.
FS 109:	Diwan-i Am; Cloistered Verandah of the Khwabgah; Daftarkhana; Abdarkhana; Khwabgah; Shabistan-i Iqbal; Kitchen near Shabistan-i Iqbal.
FS 20:	Diwan-i Am; Emperor's Seat; Courtyard in front of Chaharkhana; Platform between Astrologer's Seat and 'Treasury'; Chaharsuffa; Daftarkhana.
FS 80:	Diwan-i Am; Courtyard in front of Chaharkhana; Abdarkhana; Khwabgah; Chaharsuffa; Pavement near the Jodhbai palace Booking Office.
FS 143:	Diwan-i Am; Courtyard in front of Chaharkhana; Cloisters aligned east-west to the south of Chaharsuffa; Daftarkhana; Mosque; Hathipol.
FS 76:	Diwan-i Am; Cloisters to the south of Chaharsuffa; Daftarkhana; Chaharsuffa; Yatishkhana of the <i>darogha-i sarai</i> .
FS 111:	Diwan-i Am; Courtyard of the Daulatkhana-i Anuptalao; Cloisters to the south of Chaharsuffa; Chaharsuffa; Daftarkhana.

(contd.)

TABLE VI.2 (contd.)

FS 139:	Diwan-i Am; Emperor's Seat; Portico to the East of 'Treasury' and the Chaharkhana; Chaharkhana; Cloisters to the north of Shabistan-i Iqbal; Samosa Mahal.
FS 34:	Diwan-i Am; Cloisters to the north of Chaharkhana; Chaharkhana; Cloisters to the north of Shabistan-i Iqbal.
FS 52:	Diwan-i Am; Cloisters to the north of Chaharkhana; Abdarkhana; Jami' Mosque.
FS 110:	Diwan-i Am; Cloisters to the south of Chaharsuffa; Chaharsuffa; Hathipol.
FS 41:	Diwan-i Am; Daftarkhana; Shabistan-i Iqbal; Jami' Mosque.
FS 91:	Diwan-i Am; Chaharsuffa; 'Kitchen' near Shabistan-i Iqbal.
FS 105:	Diwan-i Am; Courtyard of the Daulatkhana-i Anuptalao; Jami' Mosque.
FS 54:	Diwan-i Am; Emperor's Seat.
FS 66:	Diwan-i Am; Daftarkhana.
FS 67:	Diwan-i Am; Daftarkhana.
FS 145:	Diwan-i Am; Daftarkhana.
FS 77:	Diwan-i Am; Platform between Astrologer's seat and 'Treasury'.
FS 78:	Diwan-i Am; Cloisters linking Hujra-i Anuptalao with the Khwabgah.
FS 79:	Diwan-i Am; Abdarkhana.
FS 99:	Diwan-i Am; Jami' Mosque.
FS 144:	Diwan-i Am; 'Kitchen' in front of Shabistan-i Iqbal.
FS 147:	Diwan-i Am; Cloisters below Chaharsuffa.
FS 186:	Diwan-i Am; Cloisters below Khwabgah.
FS 21:	Emperor's Seat; Cloisters adjoining 'Treasury'; Chaharkhana; Portico to the east of Chaharkhana; Astrologer's Seat; Abdarkhana; Daftarkhana; Mosque; Samosa Mahal; Tehra Muhri.
FS 46:	Cloister adjoining 'Treasury'; Cloisters to the north of Chaharkhana; Abdarkhana; Shabistan-i Iqbal,
FS 50:	Courtyard of the Daulatkhana-i Anuptalao; Chaharsuffa; Jami' Mosque; Gallery near Hauz-i Shireen.
FS 51:	Daftarkhana; Jami' Mosque; Gallery to the south-east of Hathipol; Gallery near Hauz-i Shireen.
FS 121:	Emperor's Seat; Courtyard before Chaharkhana; Platform between Astrologer's Seat and 'Treasury'; Abdarkhana.
FS 4:	Abdarkhana; Cloisters to the North of Shabistan-i Iqbal; 'Kitchen' near Shabistan-i Iqbal.
FS 23:	Emperor's Seat; Shabistan-i Iqbal; Daftarkhana; Samosa Mahal.
FS 2:	Abdarkhana; Daftarkhana.
FS 6:	Jami' Mosque; Portico to the East of 'Treasury' and Chaharkhana.
FS 35:	Daftarkhana; Chaharsuffa.
FS 36:	Courtyard of the Daulatkhana-i Anuptalao; Cloisters in the Verandah of the Khwabgah.
FS 89:	Emperor's Seat; Gallery near Hauz-i Shireen.
FS 95:	Cloisters linking the Hujra-i Anuptalao with Khwabgah; Abdarkhana.
FS 108:	Hathipol; Jami' Mosque.
FS 120:	Emperor's Seat; Jami' Mosque.
FS 151:	Cloisters aligned E-W to the South of Chaharsuffa; Pavement near the Booking Office.
FS 161:	Cloisters, below Khwabgah; Jami' Mosque.
FS 169:	Cloisters to the South of Chaharsuffa; Courtyard in front of Chaharkhana.

TABLE VI.2: MARKS AT FATEHPUR SIKRI (FS): REPITITION OF MARKS

FS 45:	Diwan-i Am; Emperor's Seat Complex; Cloisters just below Chaharsuffa; Cloisters adjoining 'Treasury'/'Ankhmichauli'; Portico (E) Chaharkhana; Platform between Astrologer's seat and Chaharkhana; Abdarkhana; Khwabgah; Daftarkhana; Chaharsuffa (Panch Mahal); Jami' Mosque; Tehra Muhri.
FS 56:	Diwan-i Am; Emperor's Seat; Cloisters adjoining to the South of Chaharsuffa; Abdarkhana; Khwabgah; Chaharsuffa; 'Kitchen' near Shabistan-i Iqbal (Jodhbai Palace); Daftarkhana; Jami' Mosque.
FS 33:	Diwan-i Am; Cloisters just below Chaharsuffa; Cloisters to the north of Chaharkhana and the 'Treasury'; Platform between Astrologers' Seat and 'Treasury'; Abdarkhana; Khwabgah; Daftarkhana; Mosque.
FS 1.	Diwan-i Am; Courtyard in front of Chaharkhana; Platform between Astrologer's seat and 'Treasury'; Khwabgah; Chaharsuffa; Daftarkhana; Gallery to the South East of Hathipol.
FS 28:	Diwan-i Am; Portico to the east of Chaharkhana; Khwabgah; Daftarkhana; 'Kitchen' near Shabistan-i Iqbal (Jodhbai's Palace); Pavement near the Booking Office; Samosa Mahal.

TABLE VI.3: MARKS AT FATEHPUR SIKRI (FS): MARKS FOUND ONLY IN ONE STRUCTURE

I. In Jami' Masjid:	5, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 26, 29, 32, 48, 49, 55, 58, 70, 84, 98, 101 103, 104, 106, 119, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 132, 162, 163, 164.
II. In Diwan-i Am:	14, 30, 39, 40, 53, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 68, 81, 82, 85, 86, 87, 88, 92, 93, 115, 137, 138, 140, 141, 142, 146, 148, 190, 191.
III. In Abdarkhana:	3, 15, 44, 72, 83, 94, 129, 130, 136.
IV. In Chaharsuffa:	10, 102, 185
V. In Daftar Khana:	24, 25, 90, 166, 167, 168
VI. In Samosa Mahal:	31, 188, 189
VII. In Shabistan-i Iqbal:	22 57, 74, 75
VIII. In Chaharkhana:	117, 131
IX. In Khwabgah:	27, 37, 60, 69, 107
X. On Cloisters to the south of Chaharsuffa:	19, 73, 173, 174
XI. On Cloisters to the south of 'Treasury' and Chaharkhana:	116
XII. On Cloisters to the west of Hujra-i Anuptalao:	100
XIII. On Cloisters to the north of Shabistan-i Iqbal:	113
XIV. On Cloisters below the Chaharsuffa:	149
XV. On Cloisters aligned east-west to the south of Chaharsuffa:	175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 183, 184.
XVI. On Cloisters to the West of Khwabgah:	150, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160.
XVII. In the Courtyard fronting the Chaharkhana:	59, 96, 165.
XVIII. On the Cloisters below the Khwabgah:	171, 172
XIX. On Cloister a in the north-east of Chaharkhana:	170
XX. In the Courtyard of the Daulatkhana-i Anuptalao (around the tank):	38

(contd.)

TABLE VI.3 (contd.)

XXI. Qn Northern Verandah of Hujra-i Anuptalao:	43
XXII. On Astrologer's Seat:	47
XXIII. In the Gallery near Hauz-i Shireen:	97, 114, 133
XXIV. On Emperor's Seat:	128
XXV. On Hathipol:	135
XXVI. In Kitchen near Shabistan-i Iqbal:	118, 187
XXVII. Yatishkhana-i Darogha-i Sarai:	127

TABLE VI.4: SIGNATURES AT FATEHPUR SIKRI [FS(s)]

I. Jami' Masjid:	
(a) Courtyard near Badshahi Gate:	3, 4, 22, 23, 24, 30, 31, 32, 36, 77, 88, 89, 90, 123, 127.
(b) Middle Portion of the Courtyard:	1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 33, 34, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 94, 132, 133, 134, 135.
(c) South of the Water Tank:	37
(d) Gallery to the West of Buland Darwaza:	71, 72, 96, 115, 121, 129, 136.
(e) Courtyard in front of the Sanctuary:	93, 97, 98.
(f) Sanctuary of the Mosque:	
(i) South:	10.
(ii) North:	11, 139
II. Diwan-i Am:	9, 15, 18, 19, 21, 27, 35, 41, 45, 54, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 66, 67, 68, 69, 74, 95, 99, 100, 102, 107, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113, 114, 117, 118, 122, 124, 138.
III. Emperor's Seats:	
(a) The Chamber Niches:	46, 48, 49, 50, 126
(b) Door leading to the balcony:	70, 125
(c) Door leading to the Courtyard towards Daulatkhana:	117
(d) The Verandah:	
(i) Right niche:	117
(ii) Pillar:	117
IV. The Courtyard before Chaharkhana:	51
V. Courtyard towards Anup Talao:	18, 40
VI. Cloisters around Courtyard of the Daulatkhana:	
(a) Cloisters below Chaharsuffa:	117
(b) Cloisters adjoining the 'Treasury':	130
(c) Cloistered Gallery North of Chaharkhana:	50, 56, 64, 117
(d) Cloistered Gallery to the north-east of Chaharkhana:	16, 26, 84, 128
(e) Cloisters below Khwabgah:	12, 13, 119, 120
(f) Cloisters connecting Hujra-i Anuptalao to Khwabgah:	38, 117
(g) Cloisters to the West of Hujra-i Anuptalao:	47.
VII. Verandah of hujra-i Anuptalao:	52
VIII. Khwabgah:	
(a) Exterior:	28, 5.3, 11

(contd.)

TABLE VI.4 (contd.)

	(b) Interior:	55, 117
	(c) Cloistered Verandah (E):	15, 18, 28, 117
IX.	Abdarkhana:	
	(a) Ground Floor:	
	(i) Pillars:	25, 50, 131.
	(ii) Pillar Brackets:	63
	(iii) Ceilings:	62
	(b) Top Floor:	
	(i) Pillars:	73
	(ii) Ceilings:	74, 99, 101
X.	Chaharkhana:	
	(a) Western door:	103
	(b) Northern door:	9, 20
XI.	Portico to the East of Chaharkhana:	17, 117
XII.	Floor of the Astrologer's Seat:	16, 117
XIII.	Platform between the Astrologer's Seat and 'Treasury':	16, 117
XIV.	Chaharsuffa:	
	(a) Ground Floor:	14, 83, 105
	(b) First Floor:	117.
	(c) Second Floor:	29.
XV.	Shabistan-i Iqbal:	
	(a) Hall in the west:	127
	(b) Six-pillared Cloisters north of Gate:	85, 86, 87, 117, 141.
XVI.	Daftarkhana:	
	(a) Main Building Pillars:	42, 43, 104
	(b) Cloisters to its west:	44, 65, 68, 74, 99, 109, 110, 116, 140.
XVII.	Samosa Mahal:	50, 91, 9 130, 133
XVIII.	Gallery near Hauz-i Shireen:	68, 106, 144
XIX.	Hathipol:	142, 143
XX.	Agra Gate:	137
XXI.	Tehra Muhri:	21, 117

TABLE VI.5: SIGNATURES AT FATEHPUR SIKRI [FS(s)] REPITITION OF SIGNATURES

FS(s) 117:	Diwan-i Am; Emperor's Seat; Cloisters below Chaharsuffa; Chaharsuffa; Khwabgah; Cloistered Verandah of Khwabgah; Cloisters connecting Hujra-i Anuptalao with Khwabgah; Cloisters to the north of Chaharkhana; Portico to the East of Diwan-i Khas; Astrologer's Seat; Shabistan-i Iqbal; Tehra Muhri.
FS(s) 68:	Diwan-i Am; Platform between Astrologer's Seat and 'Treasury'; Daftarkhana; Gallery near Hauz-i Shireen.
FS(s) 18:	Diwan-i Am; Cloistered Verandah of Khawabgah; Courtyard near Anuptalao.
FS(s) 15:	Diwan-i Am; Cloistered Verandah of Khwabgah.
FS(s) 50:	Emperor' Seat; Cloisters to the north of Chaharkhana; Abdarkhana; Samosa Mahal.
FS(s) 9:	Diwan-i Am; Daftarkhana.
FS(s) 109:	Diwan-i Am; Daftarkhana.
FS(s) 74:	Diwan-i Am; Abdarkhana; Daftarkhana.

(contd.)

TABLE VI.5 (contd.)

FS(s) 99:	Diwan-i Am; Abdarkhana; Daftarkhana.
FS(s) 28:	Khwabgah; Cloistered Verandah of Khwabgah.
FS(s) 130:	Cloisters adjoining Treasury; Samosa Mahal.
FS(s) 133:	Jami' Mosque; Samosa Mahal.
FS(s) 127:	Jami' Mosque; Shabistan-i Iqbal.

TABLE VI.6: MARKS AT TAJ MAHAL (T) PLACEMENT

I. On Panels of the Main Gate:	41, 42, 47, 63, 65, 80, 81
II. Pillars of the Gallery to the East of this Gate:	44, 15, 66, 163, 182
III. Pillars of the Gallery to the West of this Gate:	80, 84, 100, 185
IV. On the Walls running from Museum to the Mosque:	21 22, 25, 29, 30, 61, 80, 93, 94, 99, 110, 133, 146, 150, 154, 166, 167, 180, 193, 195, 196
V. Dakhani Darwaza:	157
VI. Platform fronting the Main Gate:	2, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 14, 17, 22, 41, 49, 51, 52, 53, 59, 61, 80, 82, 84, 92, 98, 99, 108, 109, 110, 119, 133, 139, 147, 163, 165, 166, 167, 170, 172, 173, 174
VII. Platform fronting the Gallery to the East of the Main Gate:	2, 15, 41, 42, 60, 84, 98, 100, 109, 110, 119, 120, 133, 141, 147, 168, 169, 176, 177, 178 179, 180, 182
VIII. Platform fronting the Gallery to the West of the Main Gate:	12, 13, 15, 41, 48, 49, 50, 59, 61, 62, 80, 82, 99, 106, 110, 111, 113, 114, 119, 121, 133, 137, 149, 152, 156, 158, 159, 160, 161, 166, 167, 168
IX. Courtyard before the Mehmankhana:	1, 80, 98, 109, 166, 168, 207
X. Pavements:	
(a) Pavement running from the Main Gate to the Mausoleum:	55, 98, 103, 118, 133, 208, 209, 211
(b) Pavement below the Platform fronting the Western Gallery (N):	40, 41, 44, 45, 46, 47, 56, 98, 100, 104, 105, 133, 166, 168
(c) Pavement below the Platform fronting the Eastern Gallery, (N):	21, 66, 67, 68, 74, 80, 83, 84, 88, 90, 91, 98, 99, 107, 110, 112, 129, 132, 133, 143, 167
(d) Pavement running from the South-Western Corner to Museum:	2, 16, 19, 20, 31, 41, 69, 70, 72, 76, 78, 79, 84, 98, 110, 117, 119, 123, 131, 134, 135, 138, 142, 151, 162, 179, 186, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192.
(e) Pavement around the Museum:	27, 43, 45, 51, 58, 85, 86, 93 97, 98, 119, 133, 135, 143, 166, 167
(f) Pavements running from Museum to Central Tank:	41, 100

(contd.)

TABLE VI.6 (contd.)

(g) Pavement between the Museum and the Mosque:	3, 28, 32, 33, 35, 36, 41, 57, 66, 97, 98, 99, 100, 102, 110, 116, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 133, 136, 140, 143, 166, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203
(h) Pavement from the South-Eastern Corner to <i>Mehmankhana</i> :	4, 5, 6, 18, 38, 39, 40, 52, 65, 71, 73, 77, 84, 87, 89, 93, 94, 95, 96, 98, 100, 115, 128, 130, 132, 133, 144, 145, 153, 170, 205, 206

TABLE VI.7: SIGNATURES AT TAJ MAHAL [T(s)] PLACEMENT

I. On Panels of the Main Gate:	8, 18, 30, 42
II. Pillars of the Gallery to the East of the Main Gates:	3, 16, 30, 32
III. Pillars of the Gallery to the West of the Main Gate:	11, 19, 29, 36
IV. Wall running from Museum to the Mosque:	25, 45
V. Dakhani Darwaza	12
VI. Platform fronting the Main Gate:	13, 21, 22, 27, 28, 34, 37, 43
VII. Platform Fronting the Gallery to the East of the Main Gate:	4, 23, 24
VIII. Platform fronting the Gallery to the West of the Main Gate:	10, 14, 35, 48
IX. Courtyard before the Mehmankhana:	9, 17, 51, 53
X. Pavements:	
(a) Pavement below the Western Gallery (N):	2, 5, 15, 46, 49, 51
(b) Pavement below the Eastern Gallery (N):	1, 50, 52
(c) Platform running from the South-Western Corner to the Museum:	47, 54, 55, 56
(d) Pavement running from the Museum to the Central Tank:	33, 39
(e) Pavement between the Museum and the Mosque:	6, 26, 38, 40, 41
(f) Pavement from the South-Eastern Corner to the Mehmankhana:	20

TABLE VI.8: MARKS AT I'TIMAD UD DAULAH (ID) PLACEMENT

I. On the door leading to the Cenotaph Chamber (S):	6
II. Pavilion Building on the West:	
(a) Plinth Slabs:	75
(b) Steps:	37
(c) Floor of Central Room:	28, 36
(d) Walls:	35, 73

(contd.)

TABLE VI.8 (contd.)

III. Platform around the Mausoleum:	1, 5, 7, 10, 12, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 28, 38, 39, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83
IV. Pavements around this Platform:	1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 21, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 41, 42, 50, 71, 72, 78, 85, 86, 87.
V. Pavement going to the West from the mausoleum:	4, 40, 71.
VI. Pavements in the Front (E):	16, 26, 27, 28, 34
VII. Pavements going towards the North:	5, 28

TABLE VI.9: SIGNATURES AT I'TIMAD UD DAULAH [ID(s)] PLACEMENT

I. Pavilion Building on the West:	
(a) Plinth slabs:	13
(b) Steps:	31, 38
(c) Floor of Central Room:	34
(d) Walls:	35
II. Platform around the Mausoleum:	3, 4, 5, 20, 30, 40, 45, 46, 47, 48
III. Pavement around this Platform:	1, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 33, 39, 41, 42, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53
IV. Pavements in the front (E):	2, 15, 16, 26, 28, 29, 32, 34, 37, 43, 44
V. Pavements going towards the North:	36

TABLE VI.10: MARKS AT AGRA FORT (AF)

(A) PLACEMENT	
I. Jahangiri Mahal:	
(a) Courtyard Floor:	1
(b) Niches:	3, 28
II. Red-stone Octagonal Tower between Jahangiri Mahal and Musamman Burj:	2, 8, 18, 27
III. Khas Mahal:	
(a) Plinth marble slabs:	4, 10
(b) Courtyard:	5, 6
IV. Pavilion to the south of Khas Mahal:	
(a) Floor:	5, 19
(b) Pillar base and brackets:	39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47
(c) Eaves:	1, 9, 21
V. Princess Quarter to the North:	29
VI. Anguri Bagh Pavements:	9, 11, 14, 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 30, 31.
VII. Musamman (Saman) Burj (door sills):	48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53.
VIII. Cloistered Gallery to the West of Diwan-i Khas:	15, 21, 37

(contd.)

TABLE VI.10 (contd.)

IX. Gate leading to the Courtyard below	
Diwan-i Khas:	7, 12, 13, 14, 17, 26, 32, 35, 38
X. Diwan-i Am:	16, 21
XI. Pavement to the South of Diwan-i Am:	34
XII. Gate to the South of Diwan-i Am:	33, 36
XIII. Gate to the North of Diwan-i Am (towards	
Meena Bazar):	25
XIV. Passage leading to Delhi Gate:	9, 22

(B) REPITITION OF MARKS & SIGNATURES

AF(s) 22:	Anguri Bagh; Princess' Quarters
AF(s) 1:	Jahangiri Mahal; Eaves of Pavilion to the South of Khas Mahal.
AF(s) 9:	Eaves of the Pavilion to the South of Khas Mahal, Anguri Bagh, Delhi Gate.
AF(s) 21:	Eaves of the Pavilion to the south of Khas Mahal; Diwan-i Am; Cloistered Gallery to the West of Diwan-i Khas.
AF(s) 19:	Pavilion to the South of Khas Mahal; Anguri Bagh.
AF(s) 22:	Delhi Gate; Anguri Bagh.
AF(s) 14:	Gate leading to the Courtyard below Diwan-i Khas; Anguri Bagh.

TABLE VI.11: MARKS & SIGNATURES AT ARAM BAGH [AB/AB(s)]³⁶

I. South Western Pavilion:	
(a) Marks:	19, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 10, 11, 13, 16, 2, 25, 35 36, 37.
(b) Signatures:	8, 11, 13, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22.
II. Various Platforms in the Garden:	
(a) Marks:	19, 16, 31, 33
(b) Signatures:	—

TABLE VI.12: INDEX OF MARKS AND SIGNATURES APPEARING TOGETHER ON INDIVIDUAL SLABS

S.No.	Mark/Signature	Mark/Signature	Place
(A) FATEHPUR SIKRI			
1	FS 1	FS(s) 28 FS(s) 29	Khwabgah Chaharsuffa
2	FS 124 FS 125	FS(s) 96	Jami' Masjid
3	FS 139	FS(s) 126	Emperor's Seat
4	FS(s) 48	FS(s) 49	Emperor's Seat
5	FS(s) 117	FS(s) 121	Emperor's Seat
6	FS 149	FS 147	Cloisters just below Chaharsuffa
7	FS 36	FS(s) 15	Cloistered verandah of Khwabgah
8	FS 33	FS(s) 53	Khwabgah

(contd.)

TABLE VI.12 (contd.)

9	FS 29	FS(s) 32	Jami' Masjid
10	FS 57	FS 22	Shabist-i Iqbal
11	FS 49	FS(s) 6	Jami' Masjid
12	FS 143, FS 84	FS(s) 82	Jami' Masjid ³⁷
13	FS 8	FS(s) 98	Jami' Masjid
14	FS 5	FS 13	Jami' Masjid
15	FS 80	FS 136	Abdarkhana
16	FS 36	FS(s) 18	Sahn-i Daulatkhana-i Anuptalao
17	FS 56	FS(s) 105	Chaharsuffa

(B) TAJ MAHAL

1	T 100	T 84	Pavement
		T(s) 15	-ditto-
		T(s) 26	-ditto-
		T(s) 38	-ditto-
		T(s) 39	-ditto-
		T(s) 40	-ditto-
2	T 166	T 133	Pavement
		T 167	Wall
		T(s) 25, T 133, T 167	-ditto-
		T 61, T 193	-ditto-
		T 21, T 30, T 146	-ditto-
3	T 80	T 62	Pavements
		T(s) 25, T 133, T 166	Walls
		T 166, T 133	-ditto-
		T 166	-ditto-
4	T 84	T 99	Pavements
		T 100	-ditto-
		T 44	Gallery West of the Gate
		T 80, T 54	-ditto-
5	T 167	T 62	Pavements
		T(s) 25, T 133, T 166	Walls
		T 133, T 166	-ditto-
		T 166	-ditto-
6	T 163	T 147	Pavements
		T 66	Gallery East of the Gate
7	T(s) 30	T 66	Gallery East of the Gate
		T 80	Main Gate
8	T 44	T(s) 3, T(s) 32	Gallery East of the Gate
		T 84	Gallery West of the Gate
9	T 66	T 163	Gallery East of Gate
		T(s) 30	-ditto-
10	T 32	T 98	
		T 41	Pavements
11	T(s) 38	T 100	
		T 133	Pavements

(contd.)

TABLE VI.12 (contd.)

(C) I' TIMAD UD DAULAH

1	ID 28	ID(s) 1ID(s) 36ID 44	Pavements
2	ID(s) 40	ID 23 ID(s) 46	Pavements
3	ID(s) 30	ID 12	Pavements
4	ID 45	ID 46	Pavements
5	ID 80	ID 81	Pavements
6	ID(s) 49	ID 1	Pavements
7	ID 85	ID 21	Pavements
8	ID(s) 52	ID(s) 11	Pavements
9	ID 27	ID 42	Pavements
10	ID(s) 19	ID 9	Pavements
11	ID(s) 3	ID 34	Pavements

(D) AGRA FORT

1	AF 3	AF 28 AF(s) 14	Jahangiri Mahal, Diwan-i Am
2	AF(s) 29	AF 29	Princess' Quarters (N)
3	AF(s) 30	AF 21	Diwan-i Am
4	AF(s) 10	AF 38	Gate leading to the Courtyard below Diwan-i Am
5	AF(s) 1	AF 36	Gate leading to the Diwan-i Am

(E) SIKANDARA

1	S 22	S(s) 22 S(s) 22, S(s) 56, S(s) 23 S(s) 22	Pavements
2	S 33	S(s) 34 S 75	Pavements
3	S 6	S(s) 11 S(s) 40 [Two] S 4	Pavements
4	S(s) 80	S(s) 81 [Many] S(s) 89	Pavements
5	S(s) 43	S(s) 60 S 67	Pavements
6	S(s) 15	S(s) 78 S(s) 57	Pavements
7	S 4	S(s) 39 S(s) 40 S 6	Pavements
8	S(s) 74	S 1	Pavements
9	S(s) 63	S(s) 62	Pavements
10	S(s) 75	S 23	Pavements
11	S(s) 21	S 7	Pavements
12	S(s) 32	S 19	Pavements
13	S(s) 52	S 26 [Numerous]	Pavements

(contd.)

TABLE VI.12 (contd.)

(F) ARAM BAGH			
1	AB 3	AB(s) 20, AB 11, AB 25 AB 11, AB 25 AB(s) 4 [Four]	S.W. Pavilion -ditto- Pavements
2	AB 13	AB(s) 19 AB(s) 16	S.W. Pavilion Pavement
3	AB(s) 25	AB 12 AB(s) 24	Pavements
4	AB 30	AB(s) 12 AB 29	Pavements
5	AB(s) 8	AB 4	S.W. Pavilion
6	AB(s) 13	AB 10, AB 1	S.W. Pavilion
7	AB(s) 15	AB 19	Pavements
8	AB 42	AB 31	Pavements
9	AB 28	AB 23	Pavements
10	AB(s) 9	AB 21	Pavements

TABLE VI.13: INDEX OF MARKS APPEARING ON A SINGLE SLAB

S.No.	Mark/Signature	Mark/Signature	Place
1	FS 33	FS(s) 117, FS 61 FS 67 FS(S) 99 FS(s) 18, FS(s) 117 FS(s) 21 FS 40 FS 52 FS 54 FS 109 FS(s) 56	Diwan-i Am -ditto- -ditto- -ditto- -ditto- -ditto- -ditto- -ditto- -ditto- Cloisters of Chaharkhana
2	FS(s) 99	FS 34, FS(s) 15, FS 62 FS 85, FS 64, FS 68, FS 115 FS 76, FS 66 FS 29, FS(s) 100 FS 1, FS(s) 9 FS 63 FS 33 FS 28 FS 56 FS(s) 116, FS 67	Diwan-i Am -ditto- -ditto- -ditto- -ditto- -ditto- -ditto- -ditto- -ditto- -ditto- Daftarkhana
3	FS 28	FS 45 FS(s) 108 FS(s) 66 FS(s) 99	Diwan-i Am -ditto- -ditto- -ditto-

(contd.)

TABLE VI.13 (contd.)

		FS 139	-ditto-
		FS 41	Portico E. of 'Treasury' Daftarkhana
4	FS 34	FS(s) 59	Diwan-i Am
		FS(s) 99, FS(s) 15, FS 62	-ditto-
		FS(s) 21, FS 33	-ditto-
		FS(s) 16, FS(s) 26	Cloisters N. of Chaharkhana
5	FS 45	FS(s) 86, FS 4	Gallery N. of Shabistan-i Iqbal
		FS 109	Diwan-i Am
		FS(s) 113	-ditto-
		FS(s) 108	-ditto-
		FS 110	-ditto-
		FS 28	-ditto-
6	FS 54	FS 21	Portico E. of Chaharkhana
		FS(s) 122, FS 80	Diwan-i Am
		FS 53	-ditto-
		FS 33	-ditto-
7	FS(s) 116	FS 109	-ditto-
		FS 1, FS(s) 9	Diwan-i Am
		FS(s) 9	-ditto-
		FS(s) 99, FS 67	Daftarkhana
8	FS(s) 117	FS 1	-ditto-
		FS 61, FS 33	Diwan-i Am
		FS(s) 118	-ditto-
		FS(s) 18, FS 33	-ditto-
9	FS 141	FS 74, FS 81	-ditto-
		FS 186	-ditto-
		FS 191	-ditto-
10	FS 109	FS 144	-ditto-
		FS 45	-ditto-
		FS 54	-ditto-
		FS(s) 111	-ditto-
11	FS(s) 9	FS 33	-ditto-
		FS(s) 99, FS 1	-ditto-
		FS(s) 116	-ditto-
12	FS 76	FS 41	Daftarkhana
		FS(s) 99, FS 66	Diwan-i Am
		FS 190, FS 146	-ditto-
13	FS 56	FS(s) 74	Daftarkhana
		FS(s) 99	Diwan-i Am
		FS 66	Daftarkhana
14	FS 41	FS(s) 105	Chaharsuffa
		FS 28	Daftarkhana
15	FS 66	FS(s) 9	
		FS 76, FS(s) 99	Diwan-i Am
16	FS 147	FS 56	Daftarkhana
		FS 143, FS 190	Diwan-i Am
		FS 139, FS 142	-ditto-

(contd.)

TABLE VI.13 (contd.)

17	FS 40	FS 41	-ditto-
		FS 33	-ditto-
18	FS(s) 108	FS 45	-ditto-
		FS 28	-ditto-
19	FS 190	FS 147, FS 143	-ditto-
		FS 146, FS 76	-ditto-
20	FS 1	FS(s) 116	Daftarkhana
21	FS 139	FS(s) 61, FS 148	Diwan-i Am
22	FS 42	FS 137	-ditto-
23	FS 140	FS(s) 27	-ditto-
24	FS 99	FS 20	-ditto-
25	FS 34	FS(S) 59	-ditto-
26	FS(s) 45	FS 77	-ditto-
27	FS 86	FS(s) 67	-ditto-
28	FS(s) 69	FS 92	-ditto-
29	FS 93	FS 105	-ditto-
30	FS 28	FS 139	Portico E. of Chaharkhana
31	FS(s) 64	FS 116	Cloisters N. of Chaharkhana
32	FS(s) 14	FS 111	Chaharsuffa
33	FS(s) 141	FS 113	Galleried pavilion N. of Shabistan-i Iqbal
34	FS 1	FS(s) 142	Hathipol
35	FS 13	FS 155	Gallery to the W. of Khwabgah
36	FS 15	FS 156	-ditto-
37	FS 16	FS 159	-ditto-

TABLE VI.14: INDEX TO SIMILAR MARKS IN VARIOUS MONUMENTS

S.No.	Fatehpur Sikri (FS)	Qutub (Q)	Humayun's Tomb (HT)	Aram Bagh (AB)	Agra Fort (AF)	I'timad ud Daulah (ID)	Sikandra (S)	Taj Mahal (T)
1	50	5	11	27	10	35	16	100
2	51	8	—	28	9	34	15	99
3	13	—	—	11	27	33	5	52
4	41	—	—	17	—	27	46	168
5	42	—	—	16	31	28	—	166
6	38	—	—	22	14	11	—	84
7	109	—	3	—	5	4	11	42
8	1	1	—	—	19	—	—	109
9	6	4	—	—	33	—	38	133
10	15	—	—	5 (?)	—	—	18	138
11	110	2	—	—	—	—	10	41
12	20	—	—	7	—	—	17	63
13	22	—	—	—	—	83	42	76
14	35	—	—	20	—	10	—	80
15	45	—	—	—	37 (?)	40	48	—

(contd.)

TABLE VI.14 (contd.)

S.No.	(FS)	(Q)	(HT)	(AB)	(AF)	(ID)	(S)	(T)
16	47	16	—	—	—	74	8	98
17	56	—	8	—	22	—	—	32
18	58	—	—	—	2	1	12	—
19	137	—	—	—	38	—	52	148
20	27	—	—	18	—	9	—	—
21	36	—	—	—	—	—	23	82
22	61	—	—	—	—	87	—	36
23	106	—	—	—	—	—	36 (?)	74
24	112	—	—	—	7	—	—	40
25	121	—	—	31	—	41	—	—
26	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	114
27	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	115
28	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	113
29	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	134
30	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	129
31	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	110
32	10	—	5 (?)	—	—	—	—	—
33	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	55 (?)
34	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	7
35	28	9	—	—	—	—	—	—
36	39	—	—	—	—	—	—	12
37	40	—	—	—	13	—	—	—
38	46	—	—	—	3	—	—	—
39	24	—	—	—	—	—	—	66
40	65	—	—	—	—	85	—	—
41	19	—	—	8	—	—	—	—
42	66	—	—	—	—	80	—	—
43	69	18	—	—	—	—	—	—
44	71	—	—	—	—	—	30	—
45	76	—	—	—	—	84	—	—
46	78	—	—	—	—	—	—	24
47	84	—	—	—	—	—	—	34
48	105	—	—	—	—	—	—	26
49	119	—	—	—	—	—	—	140
50	143	—	—	—	—	—	—	147
51	169	—	—	34	—	—	—	—
52	182	—	—	37	—	—	—	—
			(slimmer)					
53	183	—	—	38	—	—	—	—
			(no eye)					
54	128	—	—	—	—	42	—	—
55	162	—	10	—	—	—	—	—
56	—	—	—	—	21	14	19	119
57	—	—	—	14	24	—	—	49
58	—	—	—	13	23	—	—	51
59	—	3	—	—	29	—	—	137

(contd.)

TABLE VI.14 (contd.)

S.No.	(FS)	(Q)	(HT)	(AB)	(AF)	(ID)	(S)	(T)
60	—	—	—	19	—	—	24	83
61	—	—	—	—	32	24	—	165
62	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	14
63	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	15
64	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	23
65	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	38
66	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	53
67	—	—	—	—	25	—	—	50
68	—	—	—	—	—	—	25	102
69	—	—	—	—	—	16	—	121
70	—	—	13	—	—	—	—	136
71	—	—	—	—	—	—	37	93
72	—	—	—	—	—	26	—	169
73	—	—	—	—	35	—	—	204
74	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	22
75	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	64
76	—	—	—	1	—	—	39	—
77	—	—	—	—	—	18	40	—
78	—	—	—	—	15	—	35	—
79	—	—	—	21	—	12	22	—

TABLE VI.15: INDEX TO SIGNATURES COMMON TO MORE THAN ONE MONUMENT

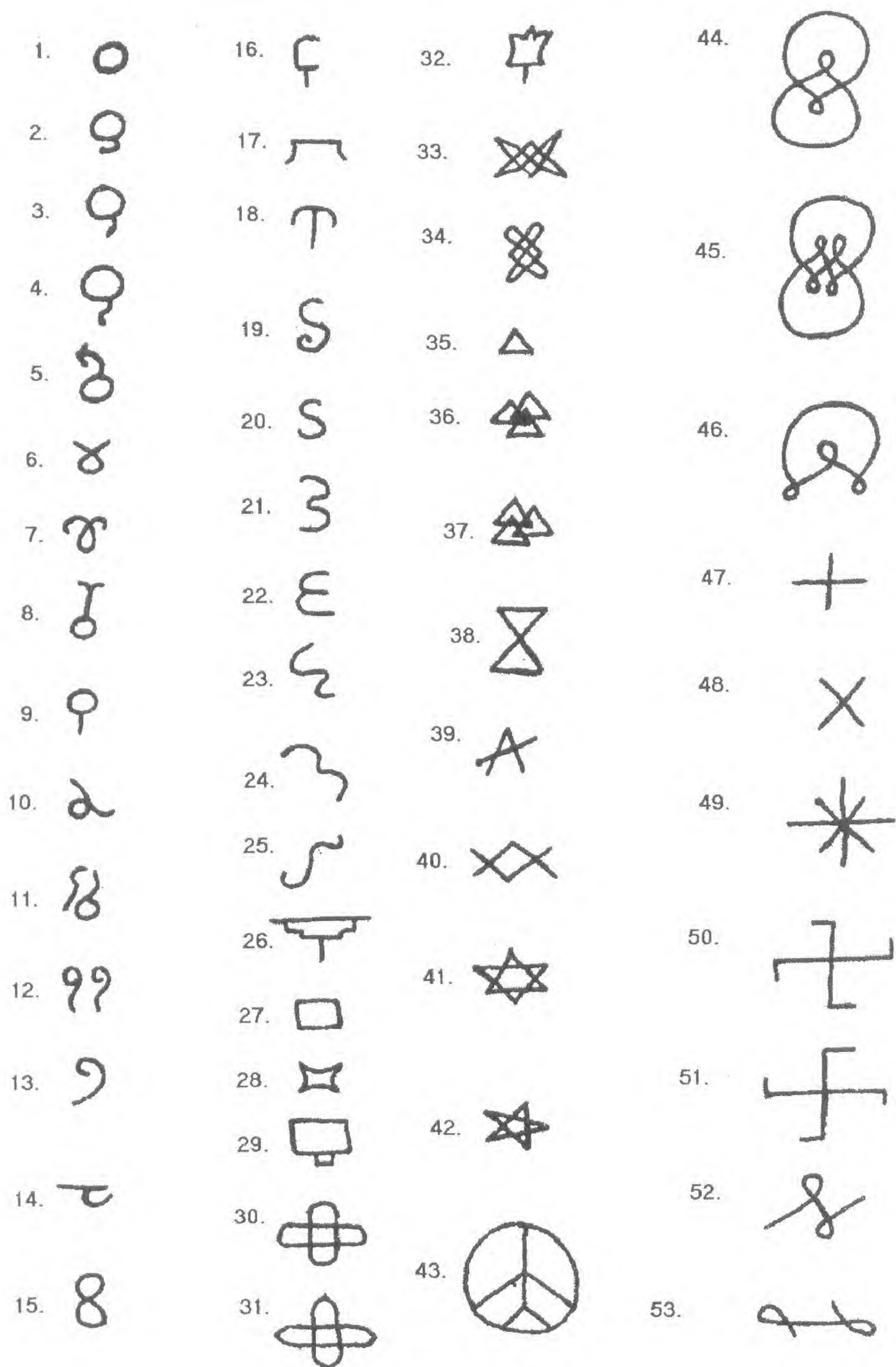
1. T(s) 4	=	ID(s) 50 (?)
2. T(s) 7	=	S(s) 10
3. T(s) 30	=	AF(s) 11
4. T(s) 50	=	AF(s) 21
5. S(s) 9	=	FS(s) 17
6. S(s) 4	=	FS(s) 10 (?)
7. S(s) 7	=	FS(s) 18
8. S(s) 31	=	FS(s) 96 = S(s) 52 (?)
9. AB(s) 24	=	AF(s) 18
10. S(s) 45 & 46	quite similar to	ID(s) 21 & 22
11. S(s) 81	quite similar to	FS(s) 125 & 126
12. ID(s) 11, 12 & 13	quite similar to	FS(s) 53 & 56

NOTES

1. N. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, translated with Introduction and Notes by William Irvine, London: J. Murray, 1906-1908, reprinted, Calcutta, 1966, I: 168-9.
2. 'Cambay Documents' preserved in the National Archives, Collection nos. NAI, 2695 & NAI, 2702.
3. J.S. Grewal, *In the By-Lanes of History—Some Persian Documents from a Punjab Town*, Simla: IIAS, 1975 (henceforth *Batala Documents*).
4. See for example NAI, 2695/1, 3, 6, 14, 16, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36; NAI, 2702 /4, 5, 7, 8, & 12.
5. E.g., NAI 2695/5, 29; NAI 2702/8.


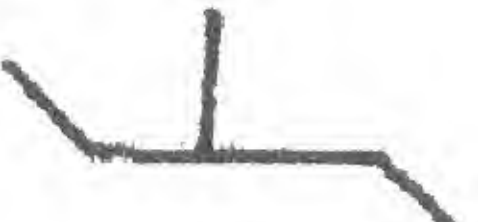



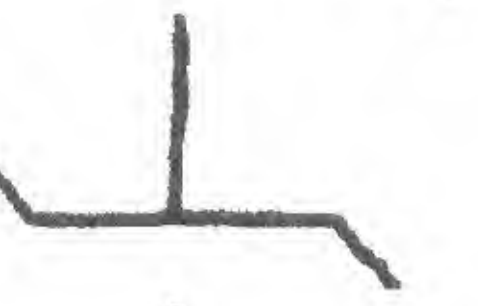

















































6. NAI 2695/4.
7. Ibid., 2695/34.
8. *Batala Documents*, nos. IV, XII, XVI.
9. Ibid., no. XIII.
10. Ibid., no. XV.
11. Ibid., no. XXIII.
12. Ibid.
13. H. Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1981: 640-7.
14. For the various categories of craftsmen involved in constructional activity and their wages, see my 'Organization of Building Construction in Mughal India', paper presented at the Indian History Congress, Dharwar, 1988; see also A.J. Qaisar, *Building Construction in Mughal India—The Evidence from Painting*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1988.
15. Gulbadan, *Humayun Nama*, Tashkent, 1959: 17; Abul Fazl, *Akbar Nama*, Molvi Abdur Rahim, ed., Calcutta, 1879, vol. II: 247.
16. Waris, *Badshahnama*, MS. Raza Library, Rampur (transcript in the Department of History Research Library, AMU, Aligarh), vol. I, p. 38.
17. Shaikh Zain Khawafi, *Tabaqat-i Baburi*, tr. Hasan Askari, Delhi, 1982: 134.
18. Abu'l Fazl, *Akbarnama*, Abdur Rahim, ed., Calcutta, 1886, vol. II: 247; Arif Qandhari, *Tarikh-i Akbari*, Rampur, 1962: 145.
19. Finch's account in *Early Travels in India, 1583-1619*, William Foster, ed., London-New York: Oxford University Press, 1921: 121.
20. Irfan Habib, 'The Economic and Social Setting', *Marg*, vol. XXXVIII, no. 2 (special on Akbar and Fatehpur-Sikri): 79-80.
21. For a brief introductory note on the marks at Taj and Fatehpur Sikri, see R. Nath, *The Taj Mahal and Its Incarnation*, Jaipur, 1985, Appendix III, and idem., *Architecture of Fatehpur-Sikri (Supplement to History of Mughal Architecture, vols. I-II)*, Jaipur, 1988: 95-8.
22. The survey of the mason's mark in the Agra region was conducted by the present author way back in 1989. For the marks and signatures at Tehra Muhri at Fatehpur, I am thankful to Professor Iqtidar Alam Khan who provided me with the photographs from his project, 'The Medieval Dams and Barrages in India', aided by NISTADS, New Delhi.
23. R. Nath, *The Taj Mahal and its Incarnation*, Jaipur, 1985.
24. See my paper 'Organization of Building Construction in Mughal India', presented at the Dharwad session of Indian History Congress, 1988.
25. Cf. A. Rahman, et al., *Science and Technology in Medieval India—A Bibliography of Source Materials in Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian*, New Delhi: Indian National Science Academy, 1982, s.v. Astronomy: 324.
26. Ibid.: 285.
27. M.A. Chaghtai, *Ahmad Me'mar Lahor aur uska Khandan*, Lahore, (Urdu) 1957: 37.
28. Rahman and Alvi, s.v. Architecture.
29. Cf. A.J. Qaisar, *Building Construction in Mughal India*: 39.
30. R. Nath: 47.
31. Parker, *Ancient Ceylon*: 514, 516, 643-4.
32. Ibid.: 646-7. See also J.M. Campbell, 'Notes on the Spirit, Basis of Belief and Custom', *The Indian Antiquary*, vol. XXIII: 161.
33. W. Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, vol. II (reprint) Delhi, 1968: 253-4.
34. R. Nath, *The Taj and its Incarnation*.
35. R. Nath, *Architecture of Fatehpur Sikri*: 97; idem., *The Taj and Its Incarnation*: 46-7.
36. The other marks and signatures are on the numerous pavement slabs.
37. All the three, i.e. the two marks and one signature are on a single slab.

FATEHPUR SIKRI [MARKS: FS(M)]



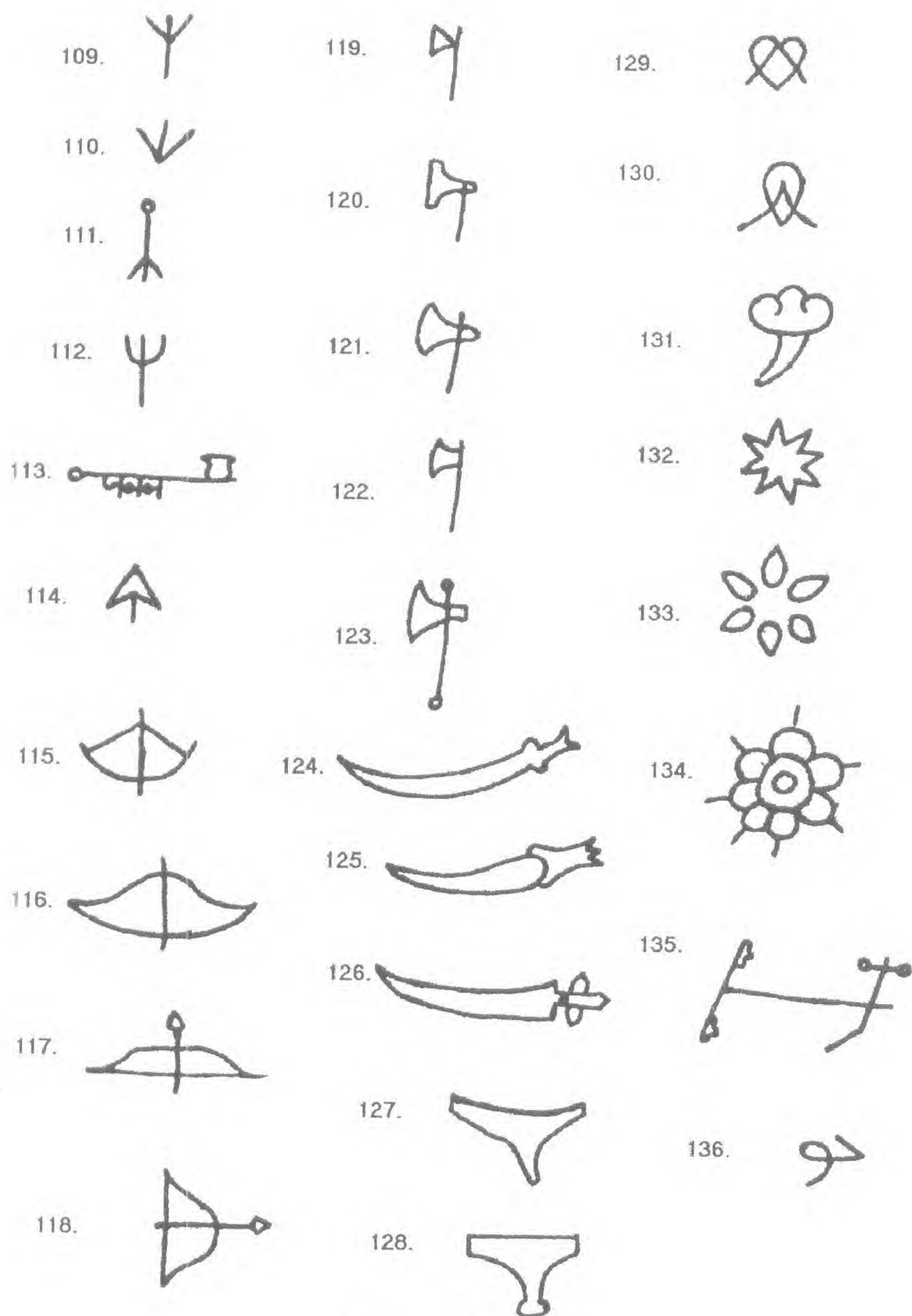
Masons Marks

FS (Continued)

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| 54.  | 66.  | 78.  | 94.  |
| 55.  | 67.  | 79.  | 95.  |
| 56.  | 68.  | 80.  | 96.  |
| 57.  | 69.  | 81.  | 97.  |
| 58.  | 70.  | 82.  | 98.  |
| 59.  | 71.  | 83.  | 99.  |
| 60.  | 72.  | 84.  | 100.  |
| 61.  | 73.  | 85.  | 101.  |
| 62.  | 74.  | 86.  | 102.  |
| 63.  | 75.  | 87.  | 103.  |
| 64.  | 76.  | 88.  | 104.  |
| 65.  | 77.  | 89.  | 105.  |
| | | 90.  | 106.  |
| | | 91.  | 107.  |
| | | 92.  | 108.  |
| | | 93.  | |

Masons Marks

FS (Continued)



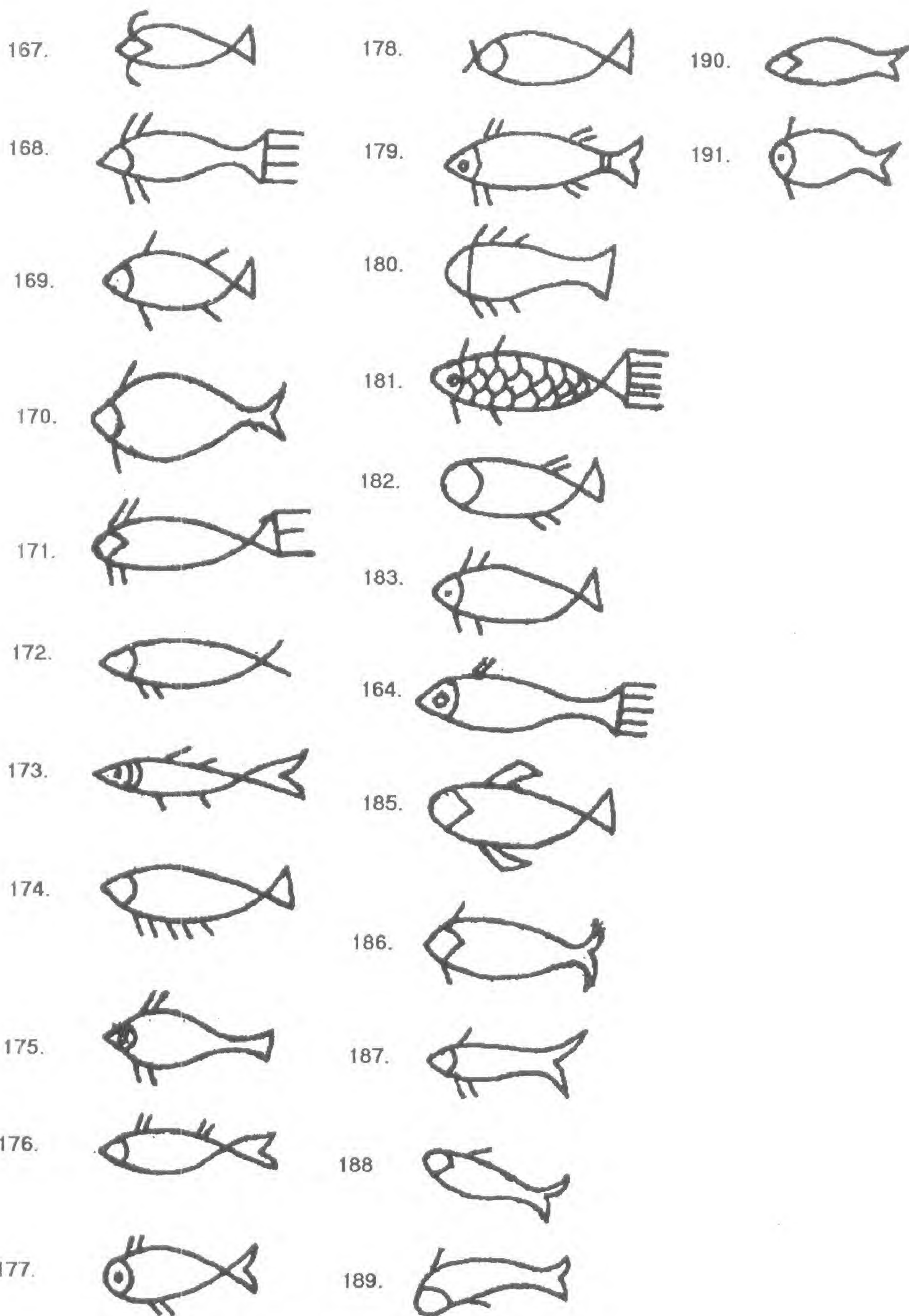
Masons Marks

FS (Continued)

- | | | | | | |
|------|--|------|--|------|--|
| 137. | | 148. | | 158. | |
| 138. | | 149. | | 159. | |
| 139. | | 150. | | 160. | |
| 140. | | 151. | | 161. | |
| 141. | | 152. | | 162. | |
| 142. | | 153. | | 163. | |
| 143. | | 154. | | 164. | |
| 144. | | 155. | | 165. | |
| 145. | | 156. | | 166. | |
| 146. | | 157. | | | |
| 147. | | | | | |












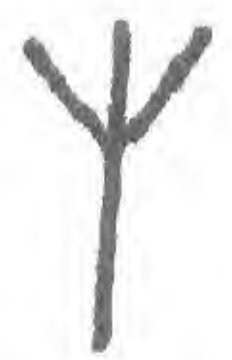



































Masons Marks

FS (Continued)



Masons Marks

TAJMAHAL (T)

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1.  | 13.  | 25.  | 40.  |
| 2.  | 14.  | 26.  | 41.  |
| 3.  | 15.  | 27.  | 42.  |
| 4.  | 16.  | 28.  | 43.  |
| 5.  | 17.  | 29.  | 44.  |
| 6.  | 18.  | 30.  | 45.  |
| 7.  | 19.  | 31.  | 46.  |
| 8.  | 20.  | 32.  | 47.  |
| 9.  | 21.  | 33.  | |
| 10.  | 22.  | 34.  | |
| 11.  | 23.  | 35.  | |
| 12.  | 24.  | 36.  | |
| | | 37.  | |
| | | 38.  | |
| | | 39.  | |























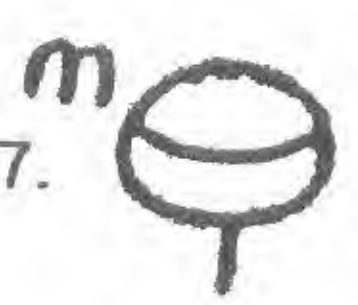













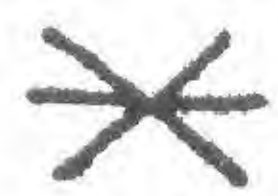







Masons Marks

T (Continued)

48.		61.		75.		87.	
49.		62.		76.		87.	
50.		63.		77.			
51.		64.		78.		88.	
52.		65.		79.		90.	
53.		66.		80.		91.	
54.		67.		81.		92.	
55.		68.		82.		93.	
56.		69.		83.		94.	
57.		70.		84.		95.	
58.		71.		85.		96.	
59.		72.		86.		97.	
60.		73.				98.	
		74.					

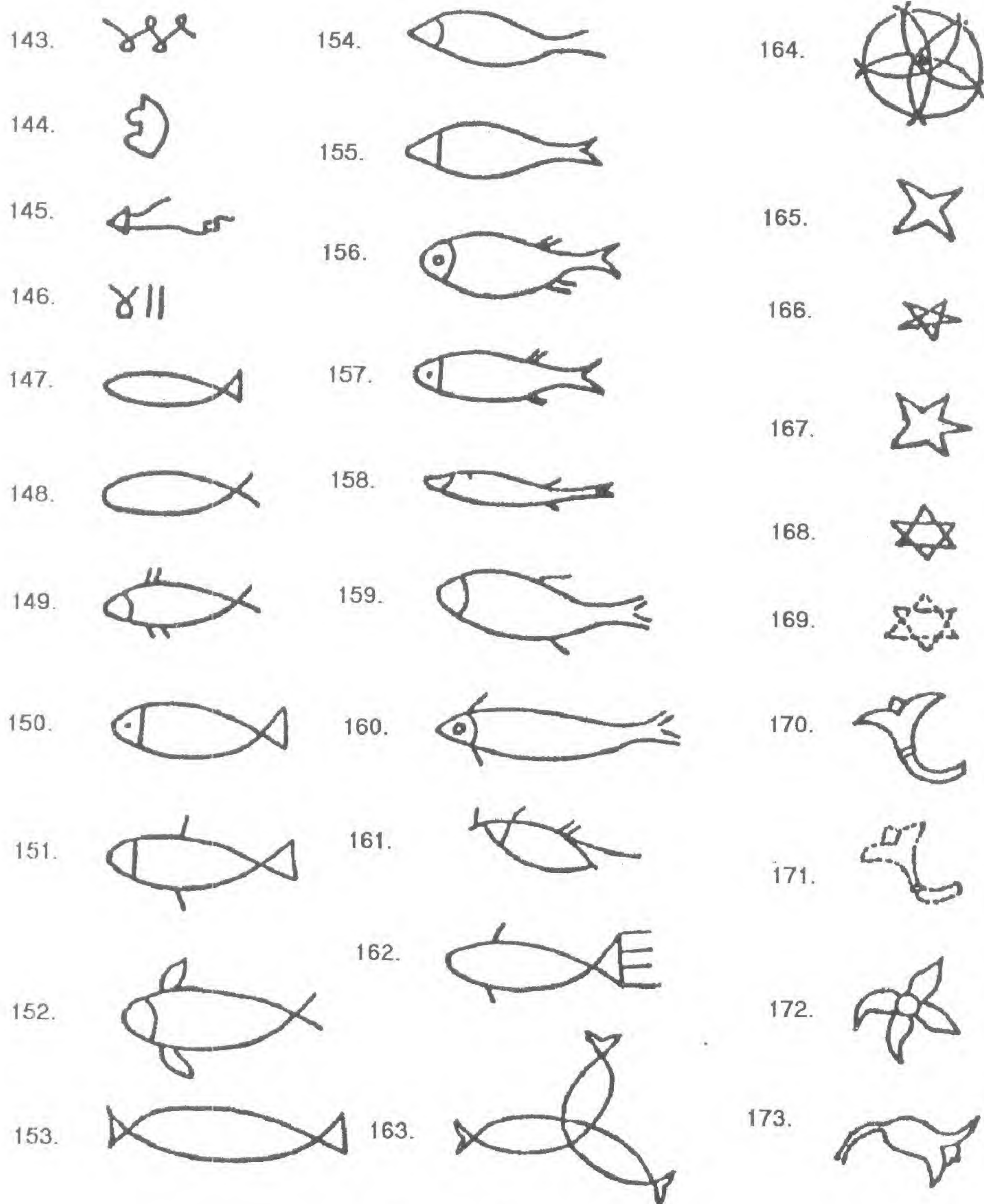
Masons Marks

T (Continued)

99.		109.		122.		133.	
100.		110.		123.		134.	
101.		111.		124.		135.	
102.		112.		125.		136.	
103.		113.		126.		137.	
104.		114.		127.		138.	
105.		115.		128.		139.	
106.		116.		129.		140.	
107.		117.		130.		141.	
108.		118.		131.		142.	
		119.		132.			
		120.					
		121.					

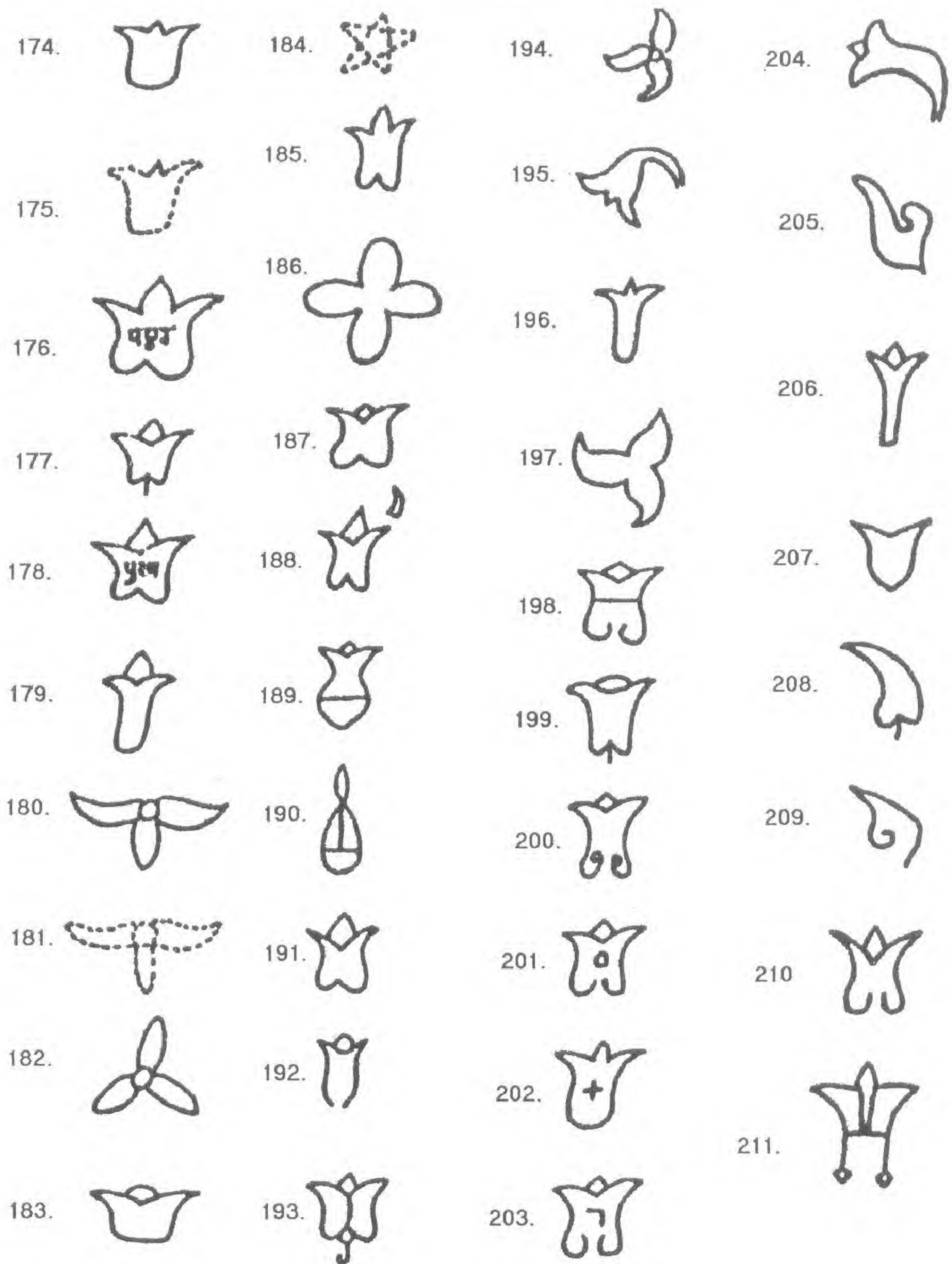
Masons Marks

T (Continued)



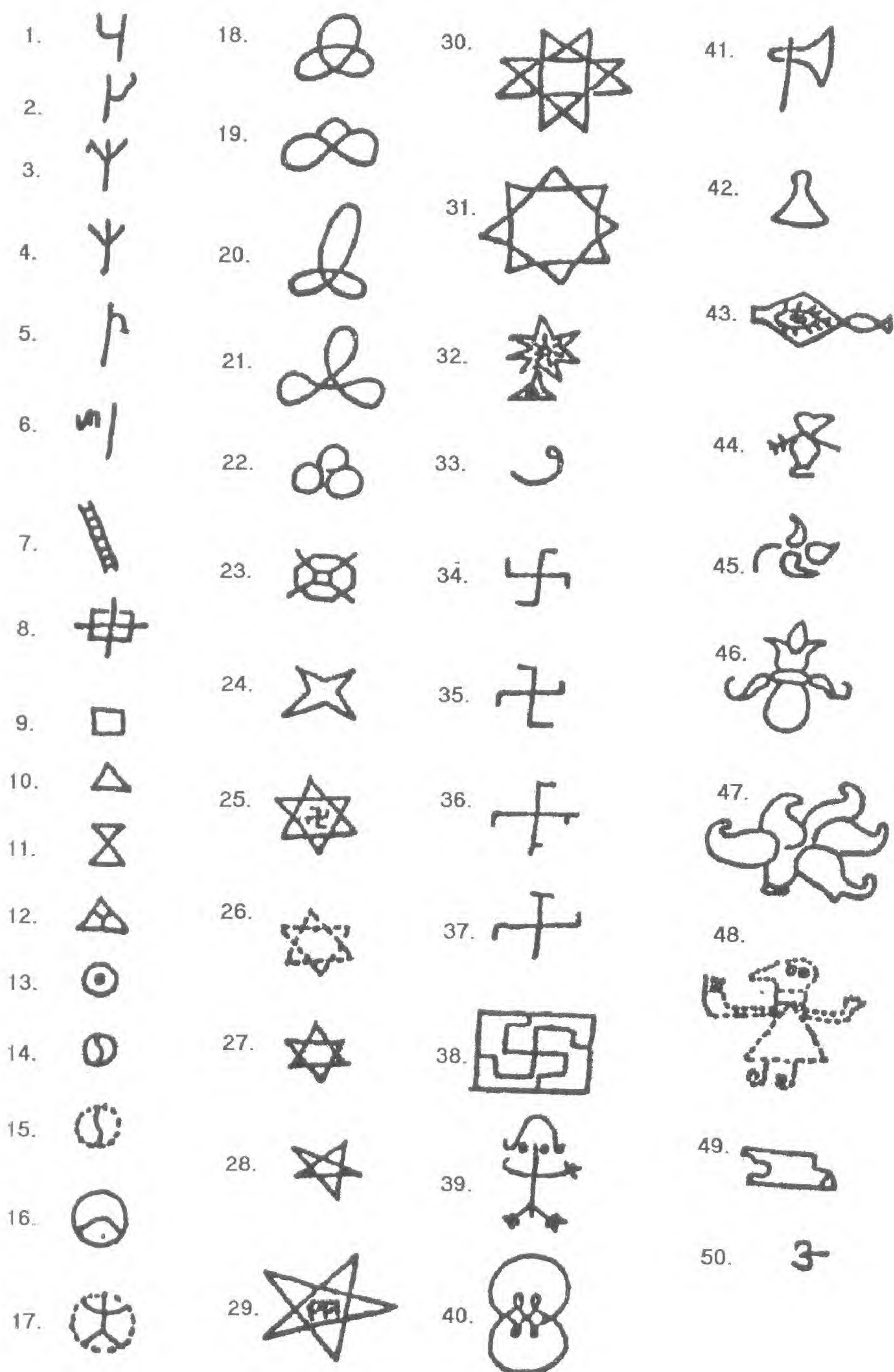
Masons Marks

T (Continued)



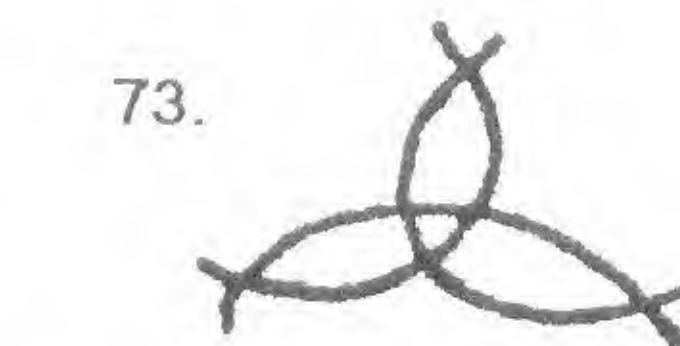
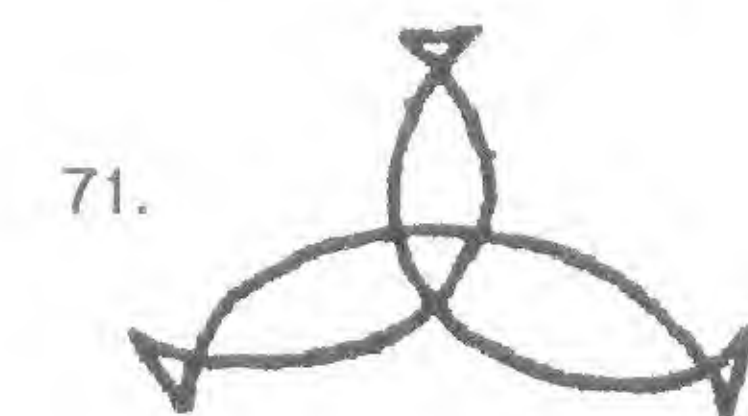
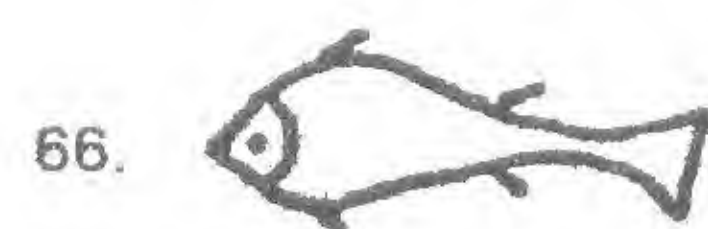
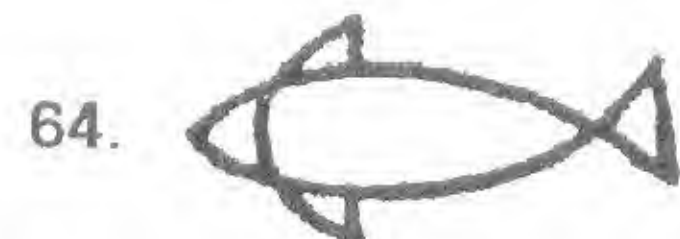
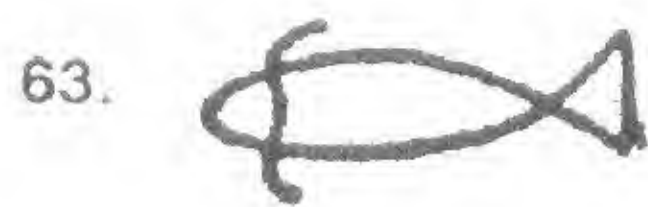
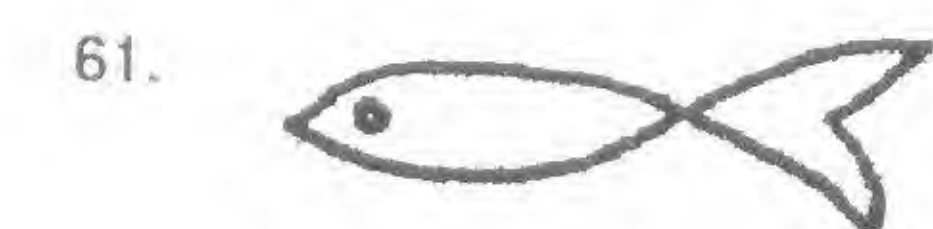
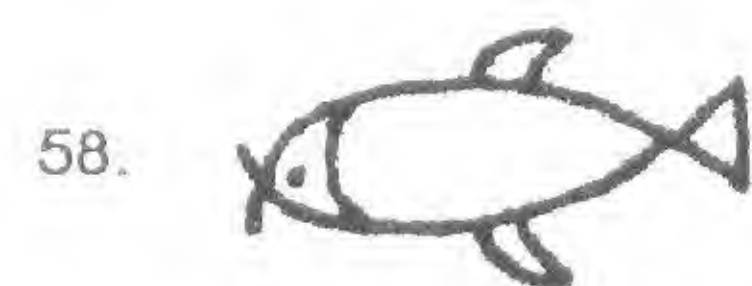
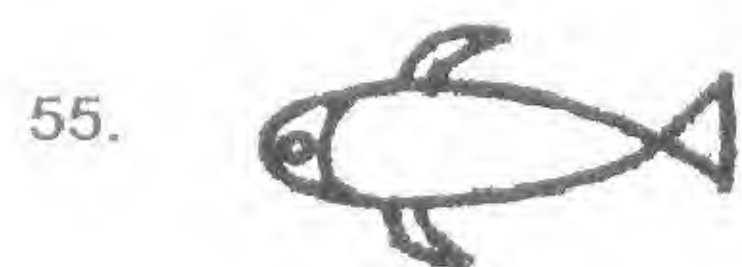
Masons Marks

I'TIMAD UD DAULAH (ID)






























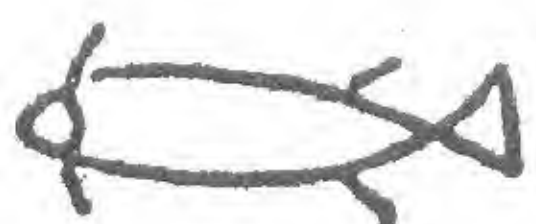



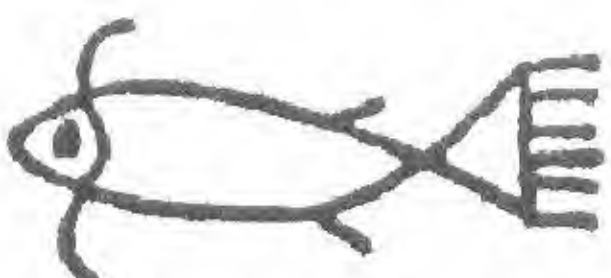















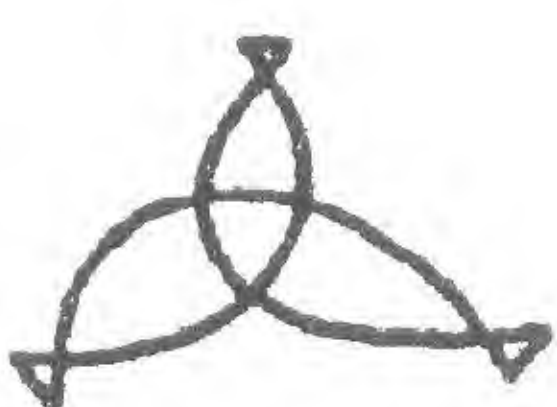













Masons Marks

ID (Continued)

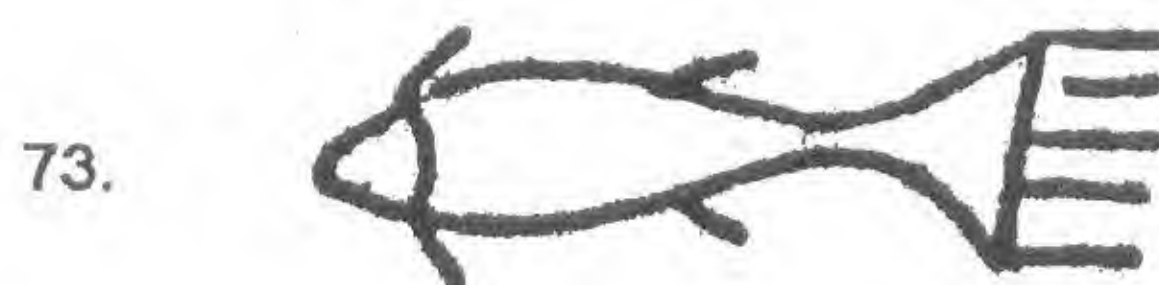
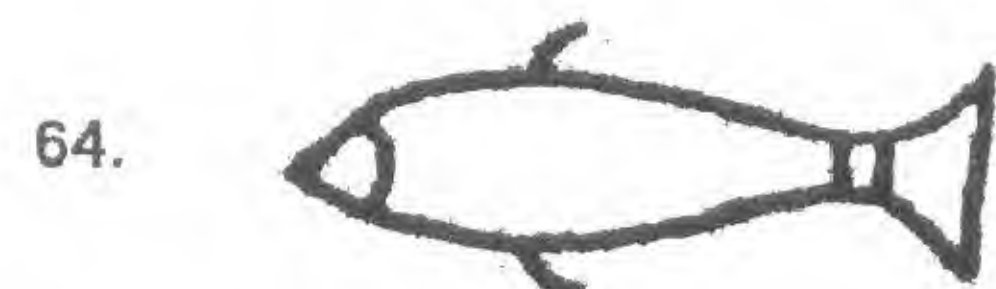


Masons Marks

SIKANDRA (S)














































1.		19.		34.		50.	
2.		20.		35.		51.	
3.		21.		36.		52.	
4.		22.		37.		53.	
5.		23.		38.		54.	
6.		24.		39.		55.	
7.		25.		40.		56.	
8.		26.		41.		57.	
9.		27.		42.		58.	
10.		28.		43.		59.	
11.		29.		44.		60.	
12.		30.		45.		61.	
13.		31.		46.			
14.		32.		47.			
15.		33.		48.			
16.				49.			
17.							
18.							

S (Continued)














































Masons Marks

AGRA FORT (AF)

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--|-----|---|-----|---|
| 1. |  | 18. |  | 37. |  |
| 2. |  | 19. |  | | |
| 3. |  | 20. |  | | |
| 4. |  | 21. |  | 38. |  |
| 5. |  | 22. |  | | |
| 6. |  | 23. |  | 39. |  |
| 7. |  | 24. |  | 40. |  |
| 8. |  | 25. |  | 41. |  |
| 9. |  | 26. |  | 42. |  |
| 10. |  | 27. |  | 43. |  |
| 11. |  | 28. |  | 44. |  |
| 12. |  | 29. |  | 45. |  |
| 13. |  | 30. |  | 46. |  |
| 14. |  | 31. |  | 47. |  |
| 15. |  | 32. |  | 48. |  |
| 16. |  | 33. |  | 49. |  |
| 17. |  | 34. |  | 50. |  |
| | | 35. |  | 51. |  |
| | | 36. |  | 52. |  |
| | | | | 53. |  |

Masons Marks

ARAM BAGH (AB)















- | | | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|---|-----|---|
| 1. |  | 18. |  | 33. |  |
| 2. |  | 19. |  | 34. |  |
| 3. |  | 20. |  | 35. |  |
| 4. |  | 21. |  | 36. |  |
| 5. |  | 22. |  | 37. |  |
| 6. |  | 23. |  | 38. |  |
| 7. |  | 24. |  | 39. |  |
| 8. |  | 25. |  | 40. |  |
| 9. |  | 26. |  | 41. |  |
| 10. |  | 27. |  | 42. |  |
| 11. |  | 28. |  | 43. |  |
| 12. |  | 29. |  | | |
| 13. |  | 30. |  | | |
| 14. |  | 31. |  | | |
| 15. |  | 32. |  | | |
| 16. |  | | | | |
| 17. |  | | | | |

Masons Marks

QUTB COMPLEX (Q)

- | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1.  | 2.  | 3.  | 4.  | 5.  |
| 6.  | 7.  | 8.  | 9.  | 10.  |
| 11.  | 12.  | 13.  | 14.  | 15.  |
| 16.  | 17.  | 18.  | | |

HUMAYUN'S TOMB (HT)

- | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|
| 1.  | 2.  | 3.  | 4.  |
| 5.  | 6.  | 7.  | 8.  |
| 9.  | 10.  | 11.  | 12.  |
| 13.  | 14.  | | |

Masons Marks

FATEHPUR SIKRI SIGNATURES [FS (s)]

1. उमानु	19. षही
2. उमरानु	20. षुगी
3. केलु	21. षुही
4. केसोमल	22. षमवेद
5. केसोमलु	23. षेमवीर
6. करमु	24. षौमनु
7. करमसिंह	25. षमल
8. करमचंद	26. राख
9. कसन	27. गीत
10. कसुम	28. गोपालु
11. कुमा	29. गोपा
12. कतवाइ	30. गठु
13. कुल्वाइ	31. गट
14. ककदलल	32. गडु
15. षतगु	33. गनेशु
16. षरगु	34. गनेसु
17. षनगु	35. मलबलीपु
18. षरागु	36. दीतमु
	37. दीतम

FS (s) Continued

38.	पुनपु	57.	पहाल
39.	पुनवाराम	58.	पहद
40.	जोमी	59.	पह
41.	ठम	60.	पहगी
42.	तेपफगीपकाडासे	61.	पहरीर
43.	तसो	62.	पहनीर
44.	ततद	63.	पहसर
45.	नसन	64.	पहन
46.	नागनु	65.	पहरीर
47.	नामनु	66.	पुही
48.	नामा	67.	पहरीर
49.	नावा	68.	पहनीर
50.	नधु	69.	पहनी
51.	नध	70.	पहनि
52.	नदरष	71.	पह
53.	नरदनु	72.	पहदर
54.	नरु	73.	पहगी
55.	नरु	74.	पहरीर
56.	नरु	75.	पहरनु

Masons Signatures

FS (s) Continued

76.	पहरथु	94.	भके
77.	पैगु	95.	मामरपा
78.	पैगुडु	96.	मधो
79.	पैणु	97.	मनकु
80.	पैगनु	98.	मनेकु
81.	पेगु	99.	मीन
82.	पसरथु	100.	फ़ीष
83.	पीरहीमु	101.	हमि
84.	पपनु	102.	रुख
85.	पषनु	103.	रूपारामफरका
86.	पषन	104.	रादल
87.	पषप	105.	रुपरामरपाग
88.	फोती	106.	लषमन
89.	फसौ	107.	वठठठ
90.	फरामु	108.	वठेड
91.	फफली	109.	वठेड
92.	फफली	110.	वठेठ.
93.	बालमानुहारम	111.	वठेड.
		112.	वीमरुव
		113.	ठठेड

Masons Signatures

FS (s) Continued

114.	वातहा	132.	हरषो
115.	वोगु	133.	हरषा
116.	हम	134.	हरणा
117.	हमु	135.	श्रुस
118.	सुउ	136.	पीवजा
119.	हना	137.	गनेषीलाल
120.	हन	138.	उदीप
121.	हनमह	139.	जिन्दा
122.	हरापह	140.	पहुनीर
123.	हरावा	141.	जमन
124.	तरव	142.	नवरुषन
125.	हमाहर	143.	रदनबरी
126.	हमोहनु	144.	माब
127.	हमीनु	145.	मल
128.	हरीघ्न		
129.	हायई		
130.	हरष		
131.	हरषु		

Masons Signatures

TAJ [T (s)]

1.	अगह	19.	नबलबह
2.	आशा	20.	नषवा
3.	उसउ	21.	पमचह
4.	कवल	22.	पहलपा
5.	कतन	23.	पफुग
6.	कलग	24.	पुरण
7.	षरग	25.	पपाप
8.	गणष	26.	भमवी
9.	षहल	27.	भोपता
10.	गवनयन	28.	मरग
11.	गरयर	29.	महदस
12.	गेविद	30.	मघ
13.	गग	31.	मघ
14.	जगनथ	32.	यणउ
15.	जग	33.	यवना
16.	जणल	34.	राबरघन
17.	जीव	35.	रातना
18.	तविह	36.	रमयर
		37.	रपता
		38.	नेमवी

Masons Signatures

T (s) Continued

39. तालु

40. हावक

41. गिउ

42. गप

43. حلو
احه

44. جد...

45. حاكو

46. كدر

47. كدر

48. كوسا

49. كرس

50. كرس

51. كرس

52. كرس

53. كرس

54. سن كرس

55. سن كرس

56. سن كرس

Masons Signatures

I'TIMAD UD DAULAH [ID (s)]

1.	कसी	18.	भगवतु
2.	कसा	19.	जीषा
3.	गवल	20.	भनुपैरट
4.	गुवल	21.	मघैकै
5.	गपल.	22.	मयैक
6.	गेहा	23.	भधा
7.	मुपसह	24.	मघे
8.	पारमह	25.	मतम
9.	धनमल	26.	माहम
10.	तोला	27.	माहनु
11.	नरडीन	28.	मोहगट
12.	ननडीन	29.	मतन
13.	नरतीन	30.	मह
14.	पहलय	31.	मेमा
15.	पहलद	32.	मनेसमेहाना
16.	पतल	33.	कुगस
17.	पत	34.	बोगमु

ID (s) Continued

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|-----|------|
| 35. | रेगम | 49. | मादन |
| 36. | उम | 50. | कवलु |
| 37. | बम | 51. | ॥६ |
| 38. | गबु | 52. | १११ |
| 39. | हवहस | 53. | धममल |
| 40. | हेवीहसु | | |
| 41. | हबत | | |
| 42. | हमन | | |
| 43. | हलष | | |
| 44. | हउटा | | |
| 45. | रुपे | | |
| 46. | हा | | |
| 47. | हदपल | | |
| 48. | भोल से ता रस तेई साममा हो तक्क | | |

Masons Signatures

SIKANDRA [S (s)]

1.	आसकरन	19.	तुनसा
2.	आसा	20.	तुनसा
3.	उपै	21.	तनखील
4.	कसम	22.	धरम
5.	षगानउ	23.	हारश
6.	पनामु	24.	धरमु
7.	षराभु	25.	नषर
8.	षनग्	26.	नमावीता
9.	षनगु	27.	नमावीत
10.	षनग	28.	तउर
11.	षौमा	29.	नरसीब
12.	षमन	30.	तुनसीर
13.	गरीबा	31.	नथ
14.	गरीबा	32.	नमष
15.	जस	33.	पोले
16.	हार	34.	पैमा
17.	चरम	35.	पेमा
18.	तनसान	36.	पैमा
		37.	पौम
		38.	पोग

S (s) Continued

39.	पसु	57.	सहन	75.	सह
40.	पनसु	58.	सपेक	76.	सबसी
41.	पनमकह	59.	सपे	77.	साण्पनरमान
42.	पराम	60.	ल	78.	सहन
43.	पल	61.	ललु	79.	हरग
44.	फमनह	62.	ललराह	80.	हरगु
45.	भयका	63.	ललराह	81.	हमहर
46.	मयक	64.	लोहर	82.	हमरनी
47.	मयकन	65.	वासन	83.	हनयसी
48.	मेयेकुन	66.	वीसब	84.	हरयस
49.	माप्यौमोहानाराभाष	67.	वीसन	85.	हनतसी
50.	माहनवानलकी	68.	वी	86.	हनसी
51.	मोट	69.	वसन	87.	हनग
52.	माप्यौ	70.	वतुरा	88.	हनगु
53.	मोरन	71.	वछलु	89.	हमदर
54.	मोहन	72.	वाणत	90.	हनरत
55.	नुरसा	73.	वीणल	91.	हपो
56.	नुरसा	74.	नुरगोर		

AGRA FORT [AF (s)]

1.	कनूष	17.	दोवा
2.	वल्लवकमयज्ञा	18.	उव
3.	गमहसा	19.	۲۵
4.	गोवह	20.	سام
5.	गवह	21.	کرد
6.	गहपा	22.	کرد
7.	जनमषरागकहस	23.	—
8.	चेतन	24.	کرد سوادن عهده
9.	ठह	25.	سرد
10.	परप्रद षमल	26.	کند که پادشاه
11.	मघ	27.	۱۶
12.	मुकठा	28.	۲۵ کرسالی الله سال
13.	मोरा	29.	سر حال عهده سر طریقه
14.	लूरा	30.	۲۴ مو عهده ۱۱
15.	प४	31.	۲۹ کرسالی
16.	ननम	32.	۲۴ مو عهده

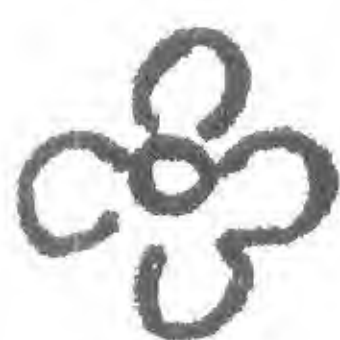
Masons Signatures

ARAM BAGH [AB (s)]

1.	केलन	13.	पुननु
2.	केलनृ	14.	भवसब
3.	केलक	15.	भरसीब
4.	जगदीन	16.	भरसीदा
5.	जगदीस	17.	भइषीदा
6.	जादायो	18.	माघो
7.	णसान	19.	लोषो
8.	तमन	20.	लोघे
9.	तमदीस	21.	लेघे
10.	पामणु	22.	लषो
11.	पूतक	23.	बह
12.	पहकन	24.	उफ
		25.	पवसीध

Masons Signatures

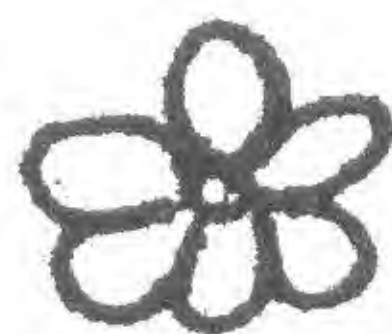
MARKS OF PROFESSIONALS



1.



2.



3.



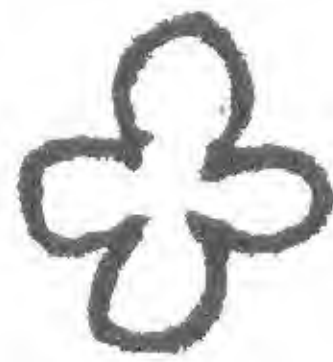
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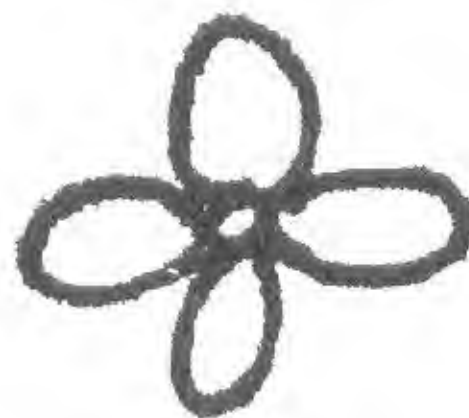
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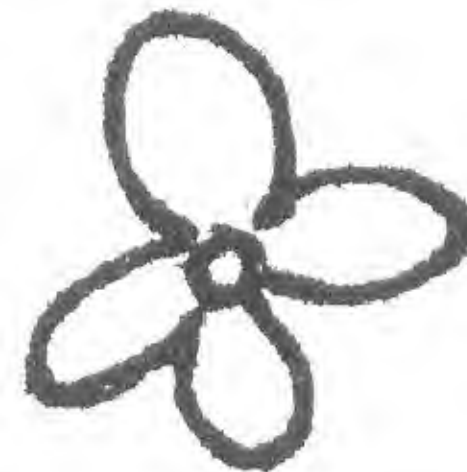
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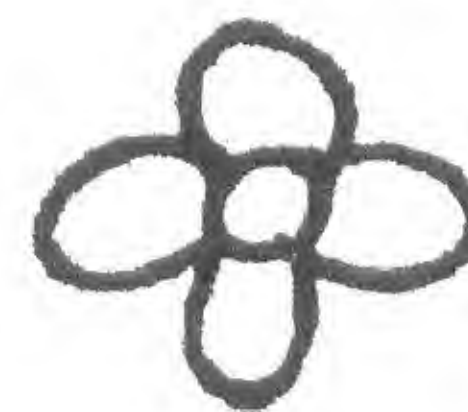
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15.

Marks 1-9: Goldsmiths and jewellers
Marks 7-9: Also of masons
Marks 11-14: Printers and oil-pressers
Mark 15: Tent-maker

MARKS OF PROFESSIONALS



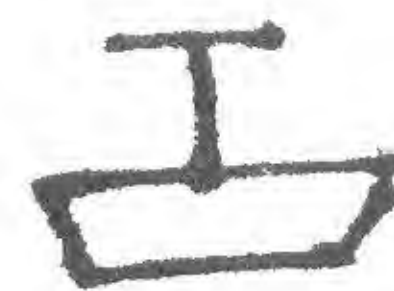
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Marks 1-8: Muslim weavers

Marks 11-12: Muslim dyers and masons

Marks 19-21: Hindu goldsmiths

MARKS OF PROFESSIONALS



1.



2.



3.



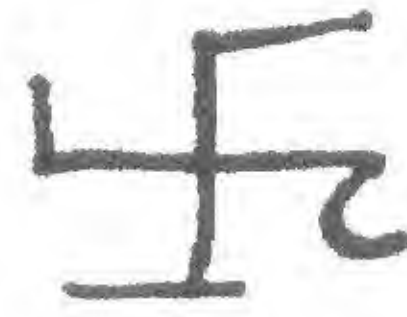
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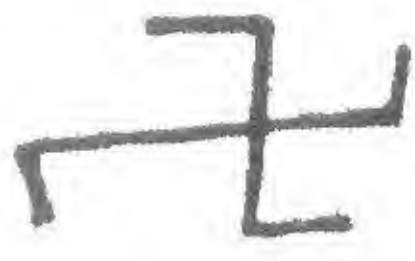
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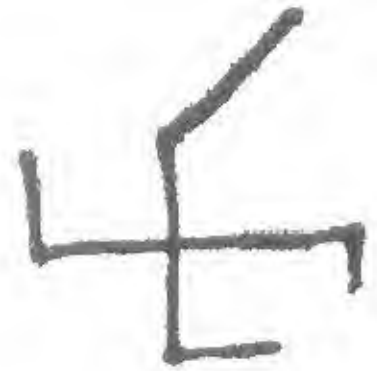
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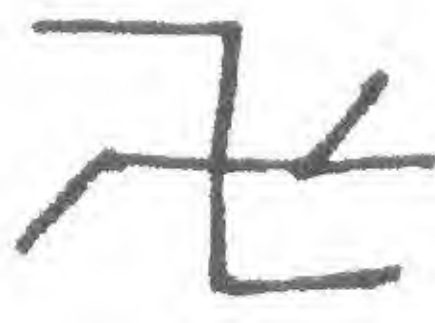
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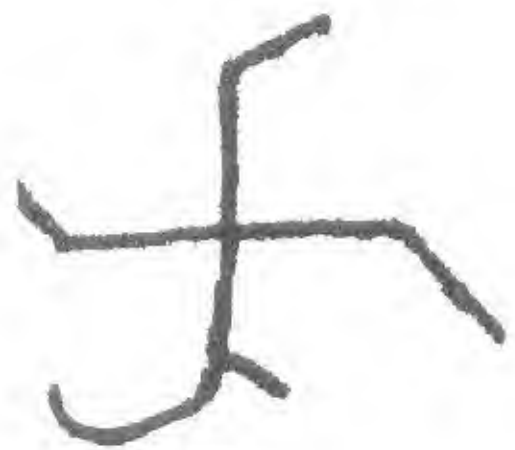
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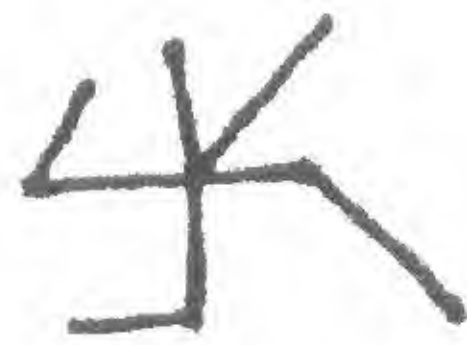
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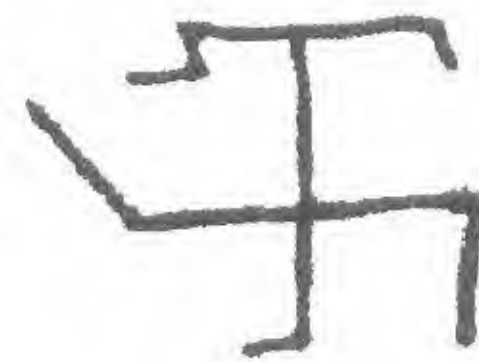
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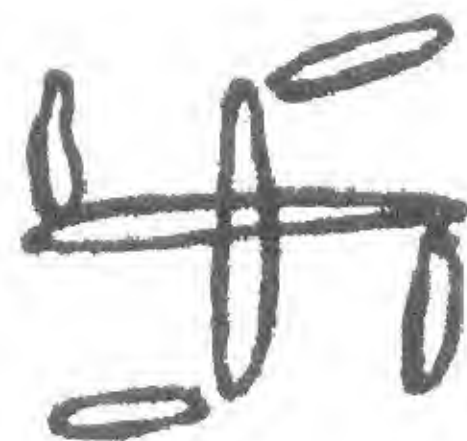
23.



24.



25.



26.

Professional Swastika based Marks:

Marks of merchants, Traders, shopkeepers and Jewellers of Gujarat